This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

2
3
78

HARPER'S
HALF-HOUR SERIES.

PRESENTED TO

THE ENGLISH LIBRARY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BY

MOORE & WETMORE

OF ANN ARBOR

DA
T
MIS
1973

D
E
P
N
I

Harper's Half-Hour Series.

1. *THE TURKS IN EUROPE.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN. 15 cents.

2–3. *TALES FROM SHAKESPEARE.* By CHARLES and MARY LAMB. Comedies, 25 cents. Tragedies, 25 cents.

4. *THOMPSON HALL.* By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. Illustrated. 20 cents.

5. *WHEN THE SHIP COMES HOME.* By WALTER BESANT and JAMES RICE. 25 cents.

6. *THE LIFE, TIMES, AND CHARACTER OF OLIVER CROMWELL.* By the Right Hon. E. H. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN, M.P. 20 cts.

EPOCHS OF ENGLISH HISTORY, a Series of Books narrating the History of England at Successive Epochs. Edited by the Rev. M. CREIGHTON, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford:

7. *EARLY ENGLAND*, up to the Norman Conquest. By FREDERICK YORK-POWELL. With Four Maps. 25 cents.

8. *ENGLAND A CONTINENTAL POWER*, from the Conquest to Magna Charta, 1066–1216. By LOUISE CREIGHTON. With a Map. 25 cents.

EPOCHS OF ENGLISH HISTORY—Continued.

9. *RISE OF THE PEOPLE*, and Growth of Parliament, from the Great Charter to the Accession of Henry VII, 1215–1485. By JAMES ROWLEY, M.A. With Four Maps. 25 cents.

10. *THE TUDORS AND THE REFORMATION.* 1485–1603. By M. CREIGHTON, M.A. With Three Maps. 25 cents.

11. *THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ABSOLUTE MONARCHY.* 1603–1688. By BERTHA MERITON CORDERY. With Two Maps. 25 cents.

12. *THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION*, from 1688 – 1778. By JAMES ROWLEY, M.A. (*In Preparation.*)

13. *ENGLAND DURING THE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN WARS*, from 1778 – 1820. By O. W. TANCOCK, M.A. (*In Preparation.*)

14. *MODERN ENGLAND*, from 1820–1875. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. (*In Preparation.*)

15. *UNIVERSITY LIFE IN ANCIENT ATHENS.* By W. W. CAPES. 25 cents.

A PRIMER OF LAT
TURE. By EUGENE LAWREN
18. *DIEUDONNÉE.* By GERA
cents.
19. *THE TIME OF ROSES.*
BUTT. 20 cents.
20. *THE JILT.* By CHARLES R
ted. 20 cents.
21. *THE MILL OF ST. I*
KATHARINE S. MACQUOID. 20
22. *THE HOUSE ON THE*
GEORGE MEREDITH. 20 cents.
23. *KATE CRONIN'S DO*
CASHEL HOEY. 15 cents.
24. *PETER THE GREAT.* 1

Series.

OF THE REV.
:ORGE ELIOT. 20

STORY. By

'CE. By GEORGE

NCE. By SIMON

ÆVAL LITERA-
:ENCE. 25 cents.

S. By Lord MA-

ITINGS OF AD-
LAY. 25 cents.

rd MACAULAY. 25

WILLIAM PITT.

BY

LORD MACAULAY.

NEW YORK:
HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,
FRANKLIN SQUARE.
1878.

WILLIAM PITT.

WILLIAM PITT, the second son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and of Lady Hester Grenville, daughter of Hester, Countess Temple, was born on the 28th of May, 1759. The child inherited a name which, at the time of his birth, was the most illustrious in the civilized world, and was pronounced by every Englishman with pride, and by every enemy of England with mingled admiration and terror. During the first year of his life every month had its illuminations and bonfires, and every wind brought some messenger charged with joyful tidings and hostile standards. In Westphalia the English infantry won a great battle which arrested the armies of Louis the Fifteenth in the midst of a career of conquest; Boscawen defeated one French fleet on the coast of Portugal; Hawke put to flight another in the Bay of Biscay; Johnson took Niagara; Amherst took Ticonderoga; Wolfe died by the most enviable of deaths under the walls of Quebec; Clive destroyed a Dutch armament in the Hoogley, and

171748

established the English supremacy in Bengal; Coote routed Lally at Wandewash, and established the English supremacy in the Carnatic. The nation, while loudly applauding the successful warriors, considered them all, on sea and on land, in Europe, in America, and in Asia, merely as instruments which received their direction from one superior mind. It was the great William Pitt, the great commoner, who had vanquished French marshals in Germany, and French admirals on the Atlantic; who had conquered for his country one great empire on the frozen shores of Ontario, and another under the tropical sun near the mouths of the Ganges. It was not in the nature of things that popularity such as he at this time enjoyed should be permanent. That popularity had lost its gloss before his children were old enough to understand that their father was a great man. He was at length placed in situations in which neither his talents for administration nor his talents for debate appeared to the best advantage. The energy and decision which had eminently fitted him for the direction of war were not needed in time of peace. The lofty and spirit-stirring eloquence, which had made him supreme in the House of Commons, often fell dead on the House of Lords. A cruel malady racked his joints, and left his joints only to fall on his nerves and on his brain. During the closing years of his life he was odious to the court, and yet was not on cordial terms with the great body of the opposition.

Chatham was only the ruin of Pitt, but an awful and majestic ruin, not to be contemplated by any man of sense and feeling without emotions resembling those which are excited by the remains of the Parthenon and of the Coliseum. In one respect the old statesman was eminently happy. Whatever might be the vicissitudes of his public life, he never failed to find peace and love by his own hearth. He loved all his children, and was loved by them; and, of all his children, the one of whom he was fondest and proudest was his second son.

The child's genius and ambition displayed themselves with a rare and almost unnatural precocity. At seven, the interest which he took in grave subjects, the ardor with which he pursued his studies, and the sense and vivacity of his remarks on books and on events amazed his parents and instructors. One of his sayings of this date was reported to his mother by his tutor. In August, 1776, when the world was agitated by the news that Mr. Pitt had become Earl of Chatham, little William exclaimed, "I am glad that I am not the eldest son. I want to speak in the House of Commons like papa." A letter is extant in which Lady Chatham, a woman of considerable abilities, remarked to her lord, that their younger son at twelve had left far behind him his elder brother, who was fifteen. "The fineness," she wrote, "of William's mind makes him enjoy with the greatest pleasure what would be above the reach of any other creature of his

is, turns on a contest about a regency. On one side is a faithful servant of the Crown, on the other an ambitious and unprincipled conspirator. At length the King, who had been missing, reappears, resumes his power, and rewards the faithful defender of his rights. A reader who should judge only by internal evidence would have no hesitation in pronouncing that the play was written by some Pittite poetaster at the time of the rejoicings for the recovery of George the Third in 1789.

The pleasure with which William's parents observed the rapid development of his intellectual powers was alloyed by apprehensions about his health. He shot up alarmingly fast; he was often ill, and always weak; and it was feared that it would be impossible to rear a stripling so

tall, so slender, and so feeble. Port-wine was prescribed by his medical advisers; and it is said that he was at fourteen accustomed to take this agreeable physic in quantities which would, in our abstemious age, be thought much more than sufficient for any full-grown man. This regimen, though it would probably have killed ninety-nine boys out of a hundred, seems to have been well suited to the peculiarities of William's constitution; for at fifteen he ceased to be molested by disease, and, though never a strong man, continued, during many years of labor and anxiety, of nights passed in debate and of summers passed in London, to be a tolerably healthy one. It was probably on account of the delicacy of his frame that he was not educated like other boys of the same rank. Almost all the eminent English statesmen and orators to whom he was afterwards opposed or allied—North, Fox, Shelburne, Windham, Grey, Wellesley, Grenville, Sheridan, Canning—went through the training of great public schools. Lord Chatham had himself been a distinguished Etonian; and it is seldom that a distinguished Etonian forgets his obligations to Eton. But William's infirmities required a vigilance and tenderness such as could be found only at home. He was therefore bred under the paternal roof. His studies were superintended by a clergyman named Wilson; and those studies, though often interrupted by illness, were prosecuted with extraordinary success. Before the lad had com-

pleted his fifteenth year his knowledge both of the ancient languages and of mathematics was such as very few men of eighteen then carried up to college. He was therefore sent, towards the close of the year 1773, to Pembroke Hall, in the University of Cambridge. So young a student required much more than the ordinary care which a college tutor bestows on undergraduates. The governor, to whom the direction of William's academical life was confided, was a bachelor of arts named Pretyman, who had been senior wrangler in the preceding year, and who, though not a man of prepossessing appearance or brilliant parts, was eminently acute and laborious, a sound scholar, and an excellent geometrician. At Cambridge, Pretyman was, during more than two years, the inseparable companion, and indeed almost the only companion, of his pupil. A close and lasting friendship sprang up between the pair. The disciple was able, before he completed his twenty-eighth year, to make his preceptor Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of St. Paul's; and the preceptor showed his gratitude by writing a Life of the disciple, which enjoys the distinction of being the worst biographical work of its size in the world.

Pitt, till he graduated, had scarcely one acquaintance, attending chapel regularly morning and evening, dined every day in hall, and never went to a single evening party. At seventeen he was admitted, after the bad fashion of those times, by right of birth, without any examina-

tion, to the degree of Master of Arts. But he continued during some years to reside at college, and to apply himself vigorously, under Pretyman's direction, to the studies of the place, while mixing freely in the best academic society.

The stock of learning which Pitt laid in during this part of his life was certainly very extraordinary. In fact, it was all that he ever possessed; for he very early became too busy to have any spare time for books. The work in which he took the greatest delight was Newton's Principia. His liking for mathematics, indeed, amounted to a passion, which, in the opinion of his instructors, themselves distinguished mathematicians, required to be checked rather than encouraged. The acuteness and readiness with which he solved problems was pronounced by one of the ablest of the moderators, who in those days presided over the disputations in the schools and conducted the examinations of the Senate House, to be unrivalled in the University. Nor was the youth's proficiency in classical learning less remarkable. In one respect, indeed, he appeared to disadvantage when compared with even second-rate and third-rate men from public schools. He had never, while under Wilson's care, been in the habit of composing in the ancient languages; and he therefore never acquired that knack of versification which is sometimes possessed by clever boys whose knowledge of the language and literature of Greece and Rome is very superficial. It would have been utterly out

of his power to produce such charming elegiac lines as those in which Wellesley bade farewell to Eton, or such Virgilian hexameters as those in which Canning described the pilgrimage to Mecca. But it may be doubted whether any scholar has ever, at twenty, had a more solid and profound knowledge of the two great tongues of the old civilized world. The facility with which he penetrated the meaning of the most intricate sentences in the Attic writers astonished veteran critics. He had set his heart on being intimately acquainted with all the extant poetry of Greece, and was not satisfied till he had mastered Lycophron's Cassandra, the most obscure work in the whole range of ancient literature. This strange rhapsody, the difficulties of which have perplexed and repelled many excellent scholars, "he read," says his preceptor, "with an ease at first which, if I had not witnessed, I should have thought beyond the compass of human intellect."

To modern literature Pitt paid comparatively little attention. He knew no living language except French, and French he knew very imperfectly. With a few of the best English writers he was intimate, particularly with Shakespeare and Milton. The debate in Pandemonium was, as it well deserved to be, one of his favorite passages; and his early friends used to talk, long after his death, of the just emphasis and the melodious cadence with which they had heard him recite the incomparable speech of Belial.

He had indeed been carefully trained from i fancy in the art of managing his voice—a voi naturally clear and deep-toned, His fathe whose oratory owed no small part of its effec to that art, had been a most skilful and judi cious instructor. At a later period the wits of Brookes's, irritated by observing, night after night, how powerfully Pitt's sonorous elocution fascinated the rows of country gentlemen, reproached him with having been "taught by his dad on a stool."

His education, indeed, was well adapted to form a great parliamentary speaker. One argument often urged against those classical studies which occupy so large a part of the early life of every gentleman bred in the south of our island is that they prevent him from acquiring a command of his mother tongue, and that it is not unusual to meet with a youth of excellent parts who writes Ciceronian Latin prose and Horatian Latin Alcaics, but who would find it impossible to express his thoughts in pure, perspicuous, and forcible English. There may, perhaps, be some truth in this observation. But the classical studies of Pitt were carried on in a peculiar manner, and had the effect of enriching his English vocabulary, and of making him wonderfully expert in the art of constructing correct English sentences. His practice was to look over a page or two of a Greek or Latin author, to make himself master of the meaning, and then to read the passage straightforward into

actice, begun under
as continued under
e that a young man
been exercised daily
rs, should have ac-
power of putting his
ion, into words well-

tiquity, the orations
stowed the most mi-
avorite employment
on opposite sides of
ze them, and to ob-
ts of the first speak-
id, which were evad-
ouched, Nor was it

England. Fox used afterwards to relate that, as the discussion proceeded, Pitt repeatedly turned to him and said, "But surely, Mr. Fox, that might be met thus;" or, "Yes; but he lays himself open to this retort." What the particular criticisms were, Fox had forgotten; but he said that he was much struck at the time by the precocity of a lad who, through the whole sitting, seemed to be thinking only how all the speeches on both sides could be answered.

One of the young man's visits to the House of Lords was a sad and memorable era in his life. He had not quite completed his nineteenth year, when, on the 7th of April, 1778, he attended his father to Westminster. A great debate was expected. It was known that France had recognized the independence of the United States. The Duke of Richmond was about to declare his opinion that all thought of subjugating those states ought to be relinquished. Chatham had always maintained that the resistance of the colonies to the mother country was justifiable. But he conceived, very erroneously, that on the day on which their independence should be acknowledged the greatness of England would be at an end. Though sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, he determined, in spite of the entreaties of his family, to be in his place. His son supported him to a seat. The excitement and exertion were too much for the old man. In the very act of addressing the peers he fell back in convulsions. A few weeks later his

corpse was borne, with gloomy pomp, from the Painted Chamber to the Abbey. The favorite child and namesake of the deceased statesman followed the coffin as chief mourner, and saw it deposited in the transept where his own was destined to lie.

His elder brother, now Earl of Chatham, had means sufficient, and barely sufficient, to support the dignity of the peerage. The other members of the family were poorly provided for. William had little more than three hundred a year. It was necessary for him to follow a profession. He had already begun to eat his terms. In the spring of 1780 he came of age. He then quitted Cambridge, was called to the bar, took chambers in Lincoln's Inn, and joined the western circuit. In the autumn of that year a general election took place; and he offered himself as a candidat for the university; but he was at the bottom o the poll. It is said that the grave doctors wh then sat, robed in scarlet, on the benches of Go gotha, thought it great presumption in so you a man to solicit so high a distinction. He w however, at the request of an hereditary frie the Duke of Rutland, brought into Parliam by Sir James Lowther for the borough of pleby.

The dangers of the country were at that such as might well have disturbed even a stant mind. Army after army had been se vain against the rebellious colonists of America. On pitched fields of battle th

vantage had been with the disciplined troops of the mother country. But it was not on pitched fields of battle that the event of such a contest could be decided. An armed nation, with hunger and the Atlantic for auxiliaries, was not to be subjugated. Meanwhile, the House of Bourbon, humbled to the dust a few years before by the genius and vigor of Chatham, had seized the opportunity of revenge. France and Spain were united against us, and had recently been joined by Holland. The command of the Mediterranean had been for a time lost. The British flag had been scarcely able to maintain itself in the British Channel. The northern powers professed neutrality; but their neutrality had a menacing aspect. In the East, Hyder had descended on the Carnatic, had destroyed the little army of Baillie, and had spread terror even to the ramparts of Fort St. George. The discontents of Ireland threatened nothing less than civil war. In England the authority of the government had sunk to the lowest point. The King and the House of Commons were alike unpopular. The cry for parliamentary reform was scarcely less loud and vehement than in the autumn of 1830. Formidable associations, headed, not by ordinary demagogues, but by men of high rank, stainless character, and distinguished ability, demanded a revision of the representative system. The populace, emboldened by the impotence and irresolution of the government, had recently broken loose from all restraint, be-

sieged the chambers of the Legislature, hustled peers, hunted bishops, attacked the residences of embassadors, opened prisons, burned and pulled down houses. London had presented during some days the aspect of a city taken by storm; and it had been necessary to form a camp among the trees of St. James's Park.

In spite of dangers and difficulties, abroad and at home, George the Third, with a firmness which had little affinity with virtue or with wisdom, persisted in his determination to put down the American rebels by force of arms; and his ministers submitted their judgment to his. Some of them were probably actuated merely by selfish cupidity; but their chief, Lord North, a man of high honor, amiable temper, winning manners, lively wit, and excellent talents both for business and for debate, must be acquitted of all sordid motives. He remained at a post from which he had long wished and had repeatedly tried to escape, only because he had not sufficient fortitud to resist the entreaties and reproaches of the King who silenced all arguments by passionately asking whether any gentleman, any man of spir could have the heart to desert a kind master the hour of extremity.

The opposition consisted of two parties wh had once been hostile to each other, and wh had been very slowly, and, as it soon appea very imperfectly reconciled, but which at conjuncture seemed to act together with cor ity. The larger of these parties consisted c

body of the Whig aristocracy. Its head
harles, Marquis of Rockingham, a man of
and virtue, and in wealth and parliament-
terest equalled by very few of the English
, but afflicted with a nervous timidity
prevented him from taking a prominent
a debate. In the House of Commons the
ents of Rockingham were led by Fox,
dissipated habits and ruined fortunes were
lk of the whole town, but whose command-
nius, and whose sweet, generous, and affec-
e disposition extorted the admiration and
f those who most lamented the errors of
ivate life. Burke, superior to Fox in
ess of comprehension, in extent of knowl-
and in splendor of imagination, but less
l in that kind of logic and in that kind of
ic which convince and persuade great as-
es, was willing to be the lieutenant of a
chief who might have been his son.
maller section of the opposition was com-
of the old followers of Chatham. At their
was William, Earl of Shelburne, distin-
d both as a statesman and as a lover of
e and letters. With him were leagued
Camden, who had formerly held the great
nd whose integrity, ability, and constitu-
knowledge commanded the public respect;
, an eloquent and acrimonious declaimer;
unning, who had long held the first place
English bar. It was to this party that
as naturally attracted.

On the 26th of February, 1781, he made his first speech in favor of Burke's plan of economical reform. Fox stood up at the same moment, but instantly gave way. The lofty yet animated deportment of the young member, his perfect self-possession, the readiness with which he replied to the orators who had preceded him, the silver tones of his voice, the perfect structure of his unpremeditated sentences, astonished and delighted his hearers. Burke, moved even to tears, exclaimed, "It is not a chip of the old block; it is the old block itself." "Pitt will be one of the first men in Parliament," said a member of the opposition to Fox. "He is so already," answered Fox, in whose nature envy had no place. It is a curious fact, well remembered by some who were very recently living, that soon after this debate Pitt's name was put up by Fox a Brookes's.

On two subsequent occasions during that se sion Pitt addressed the House, and on both ful sustained the reputation which he had acquir on his first appearance. In the summer, af the prorogation, he again went the western c cuit, held several briefs, and acquitted himsel such a manner that he was highly complime by Buller from the bench, and by Dunnin the bar.

On the 27th of November the Parliame assembled. Only forty-eight hours befor arrived tidings of the surrender of Corn and his army; and it consequently became

sary to rewrite the royal speech. Every man in the kingdom, except the King, was now convinced that it was mere madness to think of conquering the United States. In the debate on the report of the address, Pitt spoke with even more energy and brilliancy than on any former occasion. He was warmly applauded by his allies; but it was remarked that no person on his own side of the house was so loud in eulogy as Henry Dundas, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who spoke from the ministerial ranks. That able and versatile politician distinctly foresaw the approaching downfall of the government with which he was connected, and was preparing to make his own escape from the ruin. From that night dates his connection with Pitt, a connection which soon became a close intimacy, and which lasted till it was dissolved by death.

About a fortnight later, Pitt spoke in the committee of supply on the army estimates. Symptoms of dissension had begun to appear on the treasury bench. Lord George Germaine, the Secretary of State, who was especially charged with the direction of the war in America, had held language not easily to be reconciled with declarations made by the first lord of the treasury. Pitt noticed the discrepancy with much force and keenness. Lord George and Lord North began to whisper together; and Welbore Ellis, an ancient placeman, who had been drawing salary almost every quarter since the days of Henry Pelham, bent down between them to

put in a word. Such interruptions sometimes discompose veteran speakers. Pitt stopped, and, looking at the group, said, with admirable readiness, "I shall wait till Nestor has composed the dispute between Agamemnon and Achilles."

After several defeats, or victories hardly to be distinguished from defeats, the ministry resigned. The King, reluctantly and ungraciously, consented to accept Rockingham as first minister. Fox and Shelburne became secretaries of state. Lord John Cavendish, one of the most upright and honorable of men, was made chancellor of the exchequer. Thurlow, whose abilities and force of character had made him the dictator of the House of Lords, continued to hold the great seal.

To Pitt was offered, through Shelburne, the vice-treasurership of Ireland, one of the easiest and most highly paid places in the gift of the Crown; but the offer was, without hesitation, declined. The young statesman had resolved tc accept no post which did not entitle him to a seat in the cabinet; and, a few days later, h announced that resolution in the House of Com mons. It must be remembered that the cabin was then a much smaller and more select bo than at present. We have seen cabinets of si teen. In the time of our grandfathers a cabi of ten or eleven was thought inconveniently la Seven was a usual number. Even Burke, had taken the lucrative office of paymaster, not in the cabinet. Many therefore tho

Pitt's declaration indecent. He himself was sorry that he had made it. The words, he said in private, had escaped him in the heat of speaking; and he had no sooner uttered them than he would have given the world to recall them. They, however, did him no harm with the public. The second William Pitt, it was said, had shown that he had inherited the spirit as well as the genius of the first. In the son, as in the father, there might perhaps be too much pride; but there was nothing low or sordid. It might be called arrogance in a young barrister, living in chambers on three hundred a year, to refuse a salary of five thousand a year, merely because he did not choose to bind himself to speak or vote for plans which he had no share in framing; but surely such arrogance was not very far removed from virtue.

Pitt gave a general support to the administration of Rockingham, but omitted, in the mean time, no opportunity of courting that ultra-Whig party which the persecution of Wilkes and the Middlesex election had called into existence, and which the disastrous events of war, and the triumph of republican principles in America, had made formidable both in numbers and in temper. He supported a motion for shortening the duration of parliaments. He made a motion for a committee to examine into the state of the representation, and, in the speech by which that motion was introduced, avowed himself the enemy of the close boroughs, the strongholds of that

ruption to which he attributed all the cal
ɜ of the nation, and which, as he phras
one of those exact and sonorous sentenc
nich he had a boundless command, had g
ith the growth of England and strength
/ith her strength, but had not diminished
ıer diminution, or decayed with her decay.
this occasion he was supported by Fox.
motion was lost by only twenty votes in a h
of more than three hundred members. Th
formers never again had so good a divisio
the year 1831.

The new administration was strong in
ties, and was more popular than any admini
tion which had held office since the first ye
George the Third, but was hated by the
hesitatingly supported by the Parliament
torn by internal dissensions. The char
was disliked and distrusted by almost all b
leagues. The two secretaries of state re
each other with no friendly feeling. T
between their departments had not been
with precision; and there were conse
jealousies, encroachments, and complai
was all that Rockingham could do to
peace in his cabinet; and before the ca
existed three months Rockingham die

In an instant all was confusion.
herents of the deceased statesman loo
Duke of Portland as their chief.
placed Shelburne at the head of th
Fox, Lord John Cavendish, and B

diately resigned their offices; and the new prim minister was left to constitute a government ou of very defective materials. His own parliament ary talents were great; but he could not be in the place where parliamentary talents were most needed. It was necessary to find some member of the House of Commons who could confront the great orators of the opposition; and Pitt alone had the eloquence and the courage which were required. He was offered the great place of chancellor of the exchequer, and he accepted it. He had scarcely completed his twenty-third year.

The Parliament was speedily prorogued. During the recess a negotiation for peace, which had been commenced under Rockingham, was brought to a successful termination. England acknowledged the independence of her revolted colonies; and she ceded to her European enemies some places in the Mediterranean, and in the Gulf of Mexico. But the terms which she obtained were quite as advantageous and honorable as the events of the war entitled her to expect, or as he was likely to obtain by persevering in a contest against immense odds. All her vital parts, ll the real sources of her power remained uninjured. She preserved even her dignity; for she ded to the House of Bourbon only part of what e had won from that house in previous wars. e retained her Indian empire undiminished; l, in spite of the mightiest efforts of two great narchies, her flag still waved on the rock of

Gibraltar. There is not the slightest reason to believe that Fox, if he had remained in office, would have hesitated one moment about concluding a treaty on such conditions. Unhappily that great and most amiable man was, at this crisis, hurried by his passions into an error which made his genius and his virtues, during a long course of years, almost useless to his country.

He saw that the great body of the House of Commons was divided into three parties—his own, that of North, and that of Shelburne; that none of those three parties was large enough to stand alone; that, therefore, unless two of them united, there must be a miserably feeble administration, or, more probably, a rapid succession of miserably feeble administrations, and this at a time when a strong government was essential to the prosperity and respectability of the nation. It was then necessary and right that there should be a coalition. To every possible coalition there were objections. But of all possible coalitions that to which there were the fewest objections was undoubtedly a coalition between Shelburne and Fox. It would have been generally applauded by the followers of both. It might have been made without any sacrifice of public principle on the part of either. Unhappily, recent bickerings had left in the mind of Fox a profound dislike and distrust of Shelburne. Pitt attempted to mediate, and was authorized to invite Fox to return to the service of the Crown. "Is Lord Shelburne," said Fox, "to remain prime minis-

ter?" Pitt answered in the affirmative. "It is impossible that I can act under him," said Fox. "Then negotiation is at an end," said Pitt; "for I cannot betray him." Thus the two statesmen parted. They were never again in a private room together.

As Fox and his friends would not treat with Shelburne, nothing remained to them but to treat with North. That fatal coalition, which is emphatically called "The Coalition," was formed. Not three quarters of a year had elapsed since Fox and Burke had threatened North with impeachment, and had described him, night after night, as the most arbitrary, the most corrupt, the most incapable of ministers. They now allied themselves with him for the purpose of driving from office a statesman with whom they cannot be said to have differed as to any important question. Nor had they even the prudence and the patience to wait for some occasion on which they might, without inconsistency, have combined with their old enemies in opposition to the government. That nothing might be wanting to the scandal, the great orators who had, during seven years, thundered against the war, determined to join with the authors of that war in passing a vote of censure on the peace.

The Parliament met before Christmas, 1782. But it was not till January, 1783, that the preliminary treaties were signed. On the 17th of February they were taken into consideration by the House of Commons. There had been, dur-

ing some days, floating rumors that Fox and North had coalesced; and the debate indicated but too clearly that those rumors were not unfounded. Pitt was suffering from indisposition: he did not rise till his own strength and that of his hearers were exhausted; and he was consequently less successful than on any former occasion. His admirers owned that his speech was feeble and petulant. He so far forgot himself as to advise Sheridan to confine himself to amusing theatrical audiences. This ignoble sarcasm gave Sheridan an opportunity of retorting with great felicity. "After what I have seen and heard to-night," he said, "I really feel strongly tempted to venture on a competition with so great an artist as Ben Jonson, and to bring on the stage a second Angry Boy." On a division, the address proposed by the supporters of the government was rejected by a majority of sixteen.

But Pitt was not a man to be disheartened by a single failure, or to be put down by the most lively repartee. When, a few days later, the opposition proposed a resolution directly censuring the treaties, he spoke with an eloquence, energy, and dignity which raised his fame and popularity higher than ever. To the coalition of Fox and North he alluded in language which drew forth tumultuous applause from his followers. "If," he said, "this ill-omened and unnatural marriage be not yet consummated, know of a just and lawful impediment; and, the name of the public weal, I forbid the bans.

The ministers were again left in a minority, and Shelburne consequently tendered his resignation. It was accepted; but the King struggled long and hard before he submitted to the terms dictated by Fox, whose faults he detested, and whose high spirit and powerful intellect he detested still more. The first place at the board of treasury was repeatedly offered to Pitt; but the offer, though tempting, was steadfastly declined. The young man, whose judgment was as precocious as his eloquence, saw that his time was coming, but was not come, and was deaf to royal importunities and reproaches. His Majesty, bitterly complaining of Pitt's faint-heartedness, tried to break the coalition. Every art of seduction was practiced on North, but in vain. During several weeks the country remained without a government. It was not till all devices had failed, and till the aspect of the House of Commons became threatening, that the King gave way. The Duke of Portland was declared first lord of the treasury. Thurlow was dismissed. Fox and North became secretaries of state, with power ostensibly equal. But Fox was the real prime minister.

The year was far advanced before the new arrangements were completed; and nothing very important was done during the remainder of the session. Pitt, now seated on the opposition bench, brought the question of parliamentary reform a second time under the consideration of the Commons. He proposed to add to the

House at once a hundred county members an
several members for metropolitan districts, an
to enact that every borough of which an electio
committee should report that the majority o
voters appeared to be corrupt should lose th
franchise. The motion was rejected by 293 vote
to 149.

After the prorogation, Pitt visited the Conti
nent for the first and last time. His travellin
companion was one of his most intimate friends
a young man of his own age, who had alread
distinguished himself in Parliament by an en
gaging natural eloquence, set off by the sweete
and most exquisitely modulated of human voices
and whose affectionate heart, caressing manners
and brilliant wit made him the most delightfu
of companions, William Wilberforce. That wa
the time of Anglo-mania in France; and at Pari
the son of the great Chatham was absolutel
hunted by men of letters and women of fashion
and forced, much against his will, into politica
disputation. One remarkable saying which drop-
ped from him during this tour has been preserved.
A French gentleman expressed some surprise a
the immense influence which Fox, a man of
pleasure, ruined by the dice-box and the turf,
exercised over the English nation. "You have
not," said Pitt, "been under the wand of th
magician."

In November, 1783, the Parliament met ag
The government had irresistible strength in
House of Commons, and seemed to be scar

less strong in the House of Lords, but was, in truth, surrounded on every side by dangers. The King was impatiently waiting for the moment at which he could emancipate himself from a yoke which galled him so severely that he had more than once seriously thought of retiring to Hanover; and the King was scarcely more eager for a change than the nation. Fox and North had committed a fatal error. They ought to have known that coalitions between parties which have long been hostile can succeed only when the wish for coalition pervades the lower ranks of both. If the leaders unite before there is any disposition to union among the followers, the probability is that there will be a mutiny in both camps, and that the two revolted armies will make a truce with each other, in order to be revenged on those by whom they think that they have been betrayed. Thus it was in 1783. At the beginning of that eventful year North had been the recognized head of the old Tory party, which, though for a moment prostrated by the disastrous issue of the American war, was still a great power in the state. To him the clergy, the universities, and that large body of country gentlemen whose rallying cry was "Church and King," had long looked up with respect and confidence. Fox had, on the other hand, been the idol of the Whigs, and of the whole body of Protestant dissenters. The coalition at once alienated the most zealous Tories from North, and the most zealous Whigs from Fox. The university of

Oxford, which had marked its approbation of North's orthodoxy by electing him chancellor, the city of London, which had been, during two-and-twenty years, at war with the Court, were equally disgusted. Squires and rectors, who had inherited the principles of the cavaliers of the preceding century, could not forgive their old leader for combining with disloyal subjects in order to put a force on the sovereign. The members of the Bill of Rights Society and of the Reform Associations were enraged by learning that their favorite orator now called the great champion of tyranny and corruption his noble friend. Two great multitudes were at once left without any head, and both at once turned their eyes on Pitt. One party saw in him the only man who could rescue the King; the other saw in him the only man who could purify the Parliament. He was supported on one side by Archbishop Markham, the preacher of divine right, and by Jenkinson, the captain of the Pretorian band of the King's friends; on the other side by Jebb and Priestley, Sawbridge and Cartwright, Jack Wilkes and Horne Tooke. On the benches of the House of Commons, however, the ranks of the ministerial majority were unbroken; and that ar statesman would venture to brave such a maj ity was thought impossible. No prince of Hanoverian line had ever, under any pro tion, ventured to appeal from the represe body to the constituent body. The mit therefore, notwithstanding the sullen lool

muttered words of displeasure with which their suggestions were received in the closet, notwithstanding the roar of obloquy which was rising louder and louder every day from every corner of the island, thought themselves secure.

Such was their confidence in their strength that, as soon as the Parliament had met, they brought forward a singularly bold and original plan for the government of the British territories in India. What was proposed was that the whole authority, which till that time had been exercised over those territories by the East India Company, should be transferred to seven commissioners, who were to be named by Parliament, and were not to be removable at the pleasure of the Crown. Earl Fitzwilliam, the most intimate personal friend of Fox, was to be chairman of this board, and the eldest son of North was to be one of the members.

As soon as the outlines of the scheme were known, all the hatred which the coalition had excited burst forth with an astounding explosion. The question which ought undoubtedly to have been considered as paramount to every other was, whether the proposed change was likely to be beneficial or injurious to the thirty millions of people who were subject to the Company. But that question cannot be said to have been even seriously discussed. Burke, who, whether right or wrong in the conclusions to which he came, had at least the merit of looking at the subject in the right point of view,

vainly reminded his hearers of that mighty p
ulation whose daily rice might depend on a v
of the British Parliament. He spoke, with e
more than his wonted power of thought and l
guage, about the desolation of Rohilcund, ab
the spoliation of Benares, about the evil pol
which had suffered the tanks of the Carnatic
go to ruin; but he could scarcely obtain a he
ing. The contending parties, to their sham
must be said, would listen to none but Engl
topics. Out of doors the cry against the m
istry was almost universal. Town and coun
were united. Corporations exclaimed agai
the violation of the charter of the greatest c
poration in the realm. Tories and Democr
joined in pronouncing the proposed board
unconstitutional body. It was to consist
Fox's nominees. The effect of his bill was
give, not to the Crown, but to him persona
whether in office or in opposition, an enorm
power, a patronage sufficient to counterbala
the patronage of the Treasury and of the A
miralty, and to decide the elections for fifty b
oughs. He knew, it was said, that he was he
ful alike to King and people; and he had devi
a plan which would make him independent
both. Some nicknamed him Cromwell,
some Carlo Khan. Wilberforce, with his
felicity of expression, and with very unusua
terness of feeling, described the scheme a
genuine offspring of the coalition, as m
with the features of both its parents, the c

tion of one and the violence of the other. In spite of all opposition, however, the bill was supported in every stage by great majorities, was rapidly passed, and was sent up to the Lords. To the general astonishment, when the second reading was moved in the Upper House, the opposition proposed an adjournment, and carried it by eighty-seven votes to seventy-nine. The cause of this strange turn of fortune was soon known. Pitt's cousin, Earl Temple, had been in the royal closet, and had there been authorized to let it be known that his Majesty would consider all who voted for the bill as his enemies. The ignominious commission was performed, and instantly a troop of lords of the bedchamber, of bishops who wished to be translated, and of Scotch peers who wished to be re-elected, made haste to change sides. On a later day the Lords rejected the bill. Fox and North were immediately directed to send their seals to the palace by their under secretaries; and Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.

The general opinion was that there would be an immediate dissolution. But Pitt wisely determined to give the public feeling time to gather strength. On this point he differed from his kinsman Temple. The consequence was, that Temple, who had been appointed one of the secretaries of state, resigned his office forty-eight hours after he had accepted it, and thus relieved the new government from a great load of unpop-

ll men of sense and honor, however
be their dislike of the India Bill,
of the manner in which that bill had
n out. Temple carried away with
andal which the best friends of the
nment could not but lament. The
e young Prime Minister preserved its
. He could declare with perfect truth
nconstitutional machinations had been
d, he had been no party to them.
was, however, surrounded by difficulties
ngers. In the House of Lords, indeed,
a majority; nor could any orator of the
tion in that assembly be considered as a
for Thurlow, who was now again chan-
, or for Camden, who cordially supported
son of his old friend Chatham. But in the
er House there was not a single eminent speak-
among the official men who sat round Pitt.
s most useful assistant was Dundas, who,
ough he had not eloquence, had sense, knowl
lge, readiness, and boldness. On the opposit
enches was a powerful majority, led by Fo
who was supported by Burke, North, and Sh
idan. The heart of the young minister, st
as it was, almost died within him. He co
not once close his eyes on the night which
lowed Temple's resignation. But, whateve
internal emotions might be, his language an
portment indicated nothing but unconqu
firmness and haughty confidence in his ow
ers. His contest against the House of Co

lasted from the 17th of December, 1783, to the 8th of March, 1784. In sixteen divisions the opposition triumphed. Again and again the King was requested to dismiss his ministers. But he was determined to go to Germany rather than yield. Pitt's resolution never wavered. The cry of the nation in his favor became vehement and almost furious. Addresses assuring him of public support came up daily from every part of the kingdom. The freedom of the city of London was presented to him in a gold box. He went in state to receive this mark of distinction. He was sumptuously feasted in Grocers' Hall; and the shopkeepers of the Strand and Fleet Street illuminated their houses in his honor. These things could not but produce an effect within the walls of Parliament. The ranks of the majority began to waver; a few passed over to the enemy; some skulked away; many were for capitulating while it was still possible to capitulate with the honors of war. Negotiations were opened with the view of forming an administration on a wide basis, but they had scarcely been opened when they were closed. The opposition demanded, as a preliminary article of the treaty, that Pitt should resign the treasury; and with this demand Pitt steadfastly refused to comply. While the contest was raging the clerkship of the pells, a sinecure place for life, worth three thousand a year, and tenable with a seat in the House of Commons, became vacant. The appointment was with the

chancellor of the exchequer; nobody doubted that he would appoint himself; and nobody could have blamed him if he had done so; for such sinecure offices had always been defended on the ground that they enabled a few men of eminent abilities and small incomes to live without any profession, and to devote themselves to the service of the state. Pitt, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, gave the pells to his father's old adherent, Colonel Barré, a man distinguished by talent and eloquence, but poor and afflicted with blindness. By this arrangement a pension which the Rockingham administration had granted to Barré was saved to the public. Never was there a happier stroke of policy. About treaties, wars, expeditions, tariffs, budgets, there will always be room for dispute. The policy which is applauded by half the nation may be condemned by the other half. But pecuniary disinterestedness everybody comprehends. It is a great thing for a man who has only three hundred a year to be able to show that he considers three thousand a year as mere dirt beneath his feet, when compared with the public interest and the public esteem. Pitt had his reward. No minister was ever more rancorously libelled; but even when he was known to be overwhelmed with debt, when millions were passing through his hands, when the wealthiest magnates of the realm were soliciting him for marquisates ar garters, his bitterest enemies did not dare to a cuse him of touching unlawful gain.

At length the hard-fought fight ended. final remonstrance, drawn up by Burke with mirable skill, was carried on the 8th of M by a single vote in a full House. Had the periment been repeated the supporters of the alition would probably have been in a mino But the supplies had been voted; the Mu Bill had been passed; and the Parliament dissolved.

The popular constituent bodies all over country were in general enthusiastic on the of the new government. A hundred and s of the supporters of the coalition lost their se The first lord of the treasury himself cam at the head of the poll for the University Cambridge. His young friend, Wilberforce, elected knight of the great shire of York, in position to the whole influence of the Fitz iams, Cavendishes, Dundases, and Saviles. the midst of such triumphs Pitt completed twenty-fifth year. He was now the greatest ject that England had seen during many ge ations. He domineered absolutely over the inet, and was the favorite at once of the sc eign, of the Parliament, and of the nation. father had never been so powerful, nor Wal nor Marlborough.

This narrative has now reached a point yond which a full history of the life of would be a history of England, or rather o whole civilized world; and for such a his this is not the proper place. Here a very s

:etch must suffice; and in that sketch promi-
ence will be given to such points as may en-
ıble a reader who is already acquainted with
the general course of events to form a just no-
tion of the character of the man on whom so
much depended.

If we wish to arrive at a correct judgment of
Pitt's merits and defects, we must never forget
that he belonged to a peculiar class of states-
men, and that he must be tried by a peculiar
standard. It is not easy to compare him fairly
with such men as Ximenes and Sully, Richelieu
and Oxenstiern, John De Witt and Warren
Hastings. The means by which those politi-
cians governed great communities were of quite
a different kind from those which Pitt was un-
der the necessity of employing. Some talents,
which they never had any opportunity of show-
ing that they possessed, were developed in him
to an extraordinary degree. In some qualities,
on the other hand, to which they owe a large
part of their fame, he was decidedly their infe-
rior. They transacted business in their closets,
or at boards where a few confidential councillors
sat. It was his lot to be born in an age and i
a country in which parliamentary governme
was completely established; his whole traini
from infancy was such as fitted him to bea
part in parliamentary government; and fr
the prime of his manhood to his death all
powers of his vigorous mind were almost
stantly exerted in the work of parliame

government. He accordingly became the greatest master of the whole art of parliamentary government that has ever existed, a greater than Montague or Walpole, a greater than his father Chatham or his rival Fox, a greater than either of his illustrious successors, Canning and Peel.

Parliamentary government, like every other contrivance of man, has its advantages and its disadvantages. On the advantages there is no need to dilate. The history of England during the hundred and seventy years which have elapsed since the House of Commons became the most powerful body in the state, her immense and still growing prosperity, her freedom, her tranquillity, her greatness in arts, in sciences, and in arms, her maritime ascendency, the marvels of her public credit, her American, her African, her Australian, her Asiatic empires sufficiently prove the excellence of her institutions. But those institutions, though excellent, are assuredly not perfect. Parliamentary government is government by speaking. In such a government the power of speaking is the most highly prized of all the qualities which a politician can possess; and that power may exist, in the highest degree, without judgment, without fortitude, without skill in reading the characters of men or the signs of the times, without any knowledge of the principles of legislation or of political economy, and without any skill in diplomacy or in the administration of war. Nay, it may well happen that those

very intellectual qualities which give a peculiar charm to the speeches of a public man may be incompatible with the qualities which would fit him to meet a pressing emergency with promptitude and firmness. It was thus with Charles Townshend. It was thus with Windham. It was a privilege to listen to those accomplished and ingenious orators. But in a perilous crisis they would have been found far inferior in all the qualities of rulers to such a man as Oliver Cromwell, who talked nonsense, or as William the Silent, who did not talk at all. When parliamentary government is established, a Charles Townshend or a Windham will almost always exercise much greater influence than such men as the great Protector of England, or as the founder of the Batavian commonwealth. In such a government parliamentary talent, though quite distinct from the talents of a good executive or judicial officer, will be a chief qualification for executive and judicial office. From the Book of Dignities a curious list might be made out of chancellors ignorant of the principles of equity, and first lords of the admiralty ignorant of the principles of navigation, of colonial ministers who could not repeat the names of the colonies, of lords of the treasury who did not know the difference between funded and unfunded debt, and of secretaries of the India board wh did not know whether the Mahrattas were Mo hammedans or Hindoos. On these groun some persons, incapable of seeing more than o

side of a question, have pronounced parliamentary government a positive evil, and have maintained that the administration would be greatly improved if the power, now exercised by a large assembly, were transferred to a single person. Men of sense will probably think the remedy very much worse than the disease, and will be of opinion that there would be small gain in exchanging Charles Townshend and Windham for the Prince of the Peace, or the poor slave and dog Steenie.

Pitt was emphatically the man of parliamentary government, the type of his class, the minion, the child, the spoiled child, of the House of Commons. For the House of Commons he had an hereditary, an infantine love. Through his whole boyhood the House of Commons was never out of his thoughts, or out of the thoughts of his instructors. Reciting at his father's knee, reading Thucydides and Cicero into English, analyzing the great Attic speeches on the Embassy and on the Crown, he was constantly in training for the conflicts of the House of Commons. He was a distinguished member of the House of Commons at twenty-one. The ability which he had displayed in the House of Commons made him the most powerful subject in Europe before he was twenty-five. It would have been happy for himself and for his country if his elevation had been deferred. Eight or ten years, during which he would have had leisure and opportunity for reading and reflection,

for foreign travel, for social intercourse and free exchange of thought on equal terms with a great variety of companions, would have supplied what, without any fault on his part, was wanting to his powerful intellect. He had all the knowledge that he could be expected to have; that is to say, all the knowledge that a man can acquire while he is a student at Cambridge, and all the knowledge that a man can acquire when he is first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. But the stock of general information which he brought from college, extraordinary for a boy, was far inferior to what Fox possessed, and beggarly when compared with the massy, the splendid, the various treasures laid up in the large mind of Burke. After Pitt became minister he had no leisure to learn more than was necessary for the purposes of the day which was passing over him. What was necessary for those purposes such a man could learn with little difficulty. He was surrounded by experienced and able public servants. He could at any moment command their best assistance. From the stores which they produced his vigorous mind rapidly collected the materials for a good parliamentary case; and that was enough. Legislation and administration were with him secondary matters. To the work of framing statutes, of negotiating treaties, of organizing fleets and armies, of sending forth expeditions, he gave only the leavings of his time and the dregs of his fine intellect. The strength and

sap of his mind were all drawn in a different direction. It was when the House of Commons was to be convinced and persuaded that he put forth all his powers.

Of those powers we must form our estimate chiefly from tradition; for of all the eminent speakers of the last age Pitt has suffered most from the reporters. Even while he was still living critics remarked that his eloquence could not be preserved, that he must be heard to be appreciated. They more than once applied to him the sentence in which Tacitus describes the fate of a senator whose rhetoric was admired in the Augustan age: "Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul exstinctum est." There is, however, abundant evidence that nature had bestowed on Pitt the talents of a great orator; and those talents had been developed in a very peculiar manner; first by his education, and secondly by the high official position to which he rose early, and in which he passed the greater part of his public life.

At his first appearance in Parliament he showed himself superior to all his contemporaries in command of language. He could pour forth a long succession of round and stately periods, without premeditation, without ever pausing for a word, without ever repeating a word, in a voice of silver clearness, and with a pronunciation so articulate that not a letter was slurred over. He had less amplitude of mind and less richness of imagination than Burke, less ingenuity than

Windham, less wit than Sheridan, less perfec mastery of dialectical fence, and less of that high est sort of eloquence which consists of reason an passion fused together than Fox. Yet the al most unanimous judgment of those who were i the habit of listening to that remarkable race o men placed Pitt, as a speaker, above Burke, abov Windham, above Sheridan, and not below Fox His declamation was copious, polished, and splen did. In power of sarcasm he was probably no surpassed by any speaker, ancient or modern and of this formidable weapon he made merci less use. In two parts of the oratorical art whic are of the highest value to a minister of state h was singularly expert. No man knew better how to be luminous or how to be obscure. When h wished to be understood he never failed to mak himself understood. He could with ease presen to his audience not perhaps an exact or profound but a clear, popular, and plausible view of th most extensive and complicated subject. Nothin was out of place; nothing was forgotten; minut details, dates, sums of money, were all faithfully preserved in his memory. Even intricate ques tions of finance, when explained by him, seemed clear to the plainest man among his hearers. On the other hand, when he did not wish to be ex plicit—and no man who is at the head of affair always wishes to be explicit—he had a marvellou power of saying nothing in language which lef on his audience the impression that he had said a great deal. He was at once the only man wh

could open a budget without notes, and the only man who, as Windham said, could speak that most elaborately evasive and unmeaning of human compositions, a king's speech, without premeditation.

The effect of oratory will always, to a great extent, depend on the character of the orator. There perhaps never were two speakers whose eloquence had more of what may be called the race, more of the flavor imparted by moral qualities, than Fox and Pitt. The speeches of Fox owe a great part of their charm to that warmth and softness of heart, that sympathy with human suffering, that admiration for everything great and beautiful, and that hatred of cruelty and injustice which interest and delight us even in the most defective reports. No person, on the other hand, could hear Pitt without perceiving him to be a man of high, intrepid, and commanding spirit, proudly conscious of his own rectitude and of his own intellectual superiority, incapable of the low vices of fear and envy, but too prone to feel and to show disdain. Pride, indeed, pervaded the whole man, was written in the harsh, rigid lines of his face, was marked by the way in which he walked, in which he sat, in which he stood, and, above all, in which he bowed. Such pride, of course, inflicted many wounds. It may confidently be affirmed that there cannot be found, in all the ten thousand invectives written against Fox, a word indicating that his demeanor had ever made a single personal enemy. On the

other hand, several men of note who had bee partial to Pitt, and who to the last continued t approve his public conduct and to support th administration, Cumberland, for example, Bos well, and Matthias, were so much irritated b the contempt with which he treated them tha they complained in print of their wrongs. Bu his pride, though it made him bitterly dislike by individuals, inspired the great body of his fol lowers in Parliament and throughout the coun try with respect and confidence. They took hin at his own valuation. They saw that his self esteem was not that of an upstart, who was drun with good-luck and with applause, and who, i fortune turned, would sink from arrogance int abject humility. It was that of the magnani mous man so finely described by Aristotle in th Ethics, of the man who thinks himself worthy o great things, being in truth worthy. It spran from a consciousness of great powers and grea virtues, and was never so conspicuously displaye as in the midst of difficulties and dangers whic would have unnerved and bowed down any o dinary mind. It was closely connected, too, wit an ambition which had no mixture of low cupid ity. There was something noble in the cynic disdain with which the mighty minister scattere riches and titles to right and left among thos who valued them, while he spurned them out o his own way. Poor himself, he was surroun by friends on whom he had bestowed three t sand, six thousand, ten thousand a year.

Mister himself, he had made more lords than any three ministers that had preceded him. The garter, for which the first dukes in the kingdom were contending, was repeatedly offered to him, and offered in vain.

The correctness of his private life added much to the dignity of his public character. In the relations of son, brother, uncle, master, friend, his conduct was exemplary. In the small circle of his intimate associations he was amiable, affectionate, even playful. They loved him sincerely; they regretted him long; and they would hardly admit that he who was so kind and gentle with them could be stern and haughty with others. He indulged, indeed, somewhat too freely in wine, which he had early been directed to take as a medicine, and which use had made a necessary of life to him. But it was very seldom that any indication of undue excess could be detected in his tones or gestures; and, in truth, two bottles of port were little more to him than two dishes of tea. He had, when he was first introduced into the clubs of Saint James's Street, shown a strong taste for play; but he had the prudence and the resolution to stop before this taste had acquired the strength of habit. From the passion which generally exercises the most tyrannical dominion over the young he possessed an immunity which is probably to be ascribed partly to his temperament and partly to his situation. His constitution was feeble; he was very shy; and he was very busy. The

strictness of his morals furnished such buffoon as Peter Pindar and Captain Morris with an in exhaustible theme for merriment of no very deli cate kind. But the great body of the middl class of Englishmen could not see the joke They warmly praised the young statesman fo commanding his passions, and for covering hi frailties, if he had frailties, with decorous ob scurity, and would have been very far indee from thinking better of him if he had vindicate himself from the taunts of his enemies by takin under his protection a Nancy Parsons or a Mari anne Clark.

No part of the immense popularity which Pit long enjoyed is to be attributed to the eulogie of wits and poets. It might have been natural ly expected that a man of genius, of learning of taste, an orator whose diction was often com pared to that of Tully, the representative, too of a great university, would have taken a pecul iar pleasure in befriending eminent writers, t whatever political party they might have belong ed. The love of literature had induced Augus tus to heap benefits on Pompeians, Somers to b the protector of nonjurors, Harley to make th fortunes of Whigs. But it could not move Pit to show any favor even to Pittites. He wa doubtless right in thinking that, in general, po etry, history, and philosophy ought to be suffer ed, like calico and cutlery, to find their prope price in the market, and that to teach men o letters to look habitually to the state for thei

recompense is bad for the state and bad for letters. Assuredly nothing can be more absurd or mischievous than to waste the public money in bounties, for the purpose of inducing people who ought to be weighing out grocery or measuring out drapery to write bad or middling books. But, though the sound rule is that authors should be left to be remunerated by their readers, there will, in every generation, be a few exceptions to this rule. To distinguish these special cases from the masses is an employment well worthy of the faculties of a great and an accomplished ruler; and Pitt would assuredly have had little difficulty in finding such cases. While he was in power, the greatest philologist of the age, his own contemporary at Cambridge, was reduced to earn a livelihood by the lowest literary drudgery, and to spend in writing squibs for the *Morning Chronicle* years to which we might have owed an all but perfect text of the whole tragic and comic drama of Athens. The greatest historian of the age, forced by poverty to leave his country, completed his immortal work on the shores of Lake Leman. The political heterodoxy of Porson, and the religious heterodoxy of Gibbon, may perhaps be pleaded in defence of the minister by whom those eminent men were neglected. But there were other cases in which no such excuse could be set up. Scarcely had Pitt obtained possession of unbounded power, when an aged writer of the highest eminence, who had made very little by his writings, and who was sinking

infirmities and sor-
dred pounds to ena-
or two which might
his breath more eas-
aly. Not a farthing
before Christmas the
onary and of the Lives
is last in the river fog
Street. A few months
on appeared the Task,
oem that any English-
oduced—a poem, too,
to excite, in a well-con-
of esteem and compassion
genius and virtue, whose
id whom the most cruel
ncident to humanity had
porting himself by vigorous
.. Nowhere had Chatham
re enthusiasm, or in verse
subject, than in the Task.
however, contented himself
niring the book, and left the
he pension which, long aft-
yper to close his melancholy
luns and bailiffs, was obtain-
kindness of Lord

the Italian air! What a contrast between the way in which Pitt acted towards Cowper, and the way in which Burke, a poor man and out of place, acted towards Crabbe! Even Dundas, who made no pretensions to literary taste, and was content to be considered as a hard-headed and somewhat coarse man of business, was, when compared with his eloquent and classically educated friend, a Mæcenas or a Leo. Dundas made Burns an exciseman, with seventy pounds a year; and this was more than Pitt, during his long tenure of power, did for the encouragement of letters. Even those who may think that it is, in general, no part of the duty of a government to reward literary merit, will hardly deny that a government which has much lucrative church preferment in its gifts, is bound, in distributing that preferment, not to overlook divines whose writings have rendered great service to the cause of religion. But it seems never to have occurred to Pitt that he lay under any such obligation. All the theological works of the numerous bishops whom he made and translated are not, when put together, worth fifty pages of the Horæ Paulinæ, of the Natural Theology, or of the Views of the Evidences of Christianity. But on Paley the all-powerful minister never bestowed the smallest benefice. Artists Pitt treated as contemptuously as writers. For painting he did simply nothing. Sculptors, who had been selected to execute monuments voted by Parliament, had to haunt the ante-chambers of the

treasury during many years before they could obtain a farthing from him. One of them, after vainly soliciting the minister for payment during fourteen years, had the courage to present a memorial to the King, and thus obtained tardy and ungracious justice. Architects it was absolutely necessary to employ; and the worst that could be found seemed to have been employed. Not a single fine public building of any kind or in any style was erected during his long administration. It may be confidently affirmed that no ruler whose abilities and attainments would bear any comparison with his has ever shown such cold disdain for what is excellent in arts and letters.

His first administration lasted seventeen years. That long period is divided by a strongly marked line into two almost exactly equal parts. The first part ended and the second began in the autumn of 1792. Throughout both parts Pitt displayed in the highest degree the talents of a parliamentary leader. During the first part he was a fortunate, and, in many respects, a skilful administrator. With the difficulties which he had to encounter during the second part he was altogether incapable of contending; but his eloquence and his perfect mastery of the tactics o' the House of Commons concealed his incapac' from the multitude.

The eight years which followed the ge' election of 1784 were as tranquil and pros' as any eight years in the whole history o

.d. Neighboring nations which had lately ɜn in arms against her, and which had flat-ɾed themselves that, in losing her American ›lonies, she had lost a chief source of her wealth ıd of her power, saw, with wonder and vexa-.on, that she was more wealthy and more pow-.rful than ever. Her trade increased. Her nanufactures flourished. Her exchequer was full to overflowing. Very idle apprehensions were generally entertained that the public debt, though much less than a third of the debt which we now bear with ease, would be found too heavy for the strength of the nation. Those apprehensions might not, perhaps, have been easily quieted by reason. But Pitt quieted them by a juggle. He succeeded in persuading first himself, and then the whole nation, his opponents included, that a new sinking fund, which, so far as it differed from former sinking funds, differed for the worst, would, by virtue of some mysterious power of propagation belonging to money, put into the pocket of the public creditor great sums not taken out of the pocket of the tax-payer. The country, terrified by a danger which was no danger, hailed with delight and boundless confidence a remedy which was no remedy. The minister was almost universally extolled as the greatest of financiers. Meanwhile both the branches of the House of Bourbon found that England was as formidable an antagonist as she had ever been. France had formed a plan for reducing Holland to vassalage. But England interposed,

:eded. Within the [illegible]
inquillity. The King was, for the [illegible]
opular. During the twenty-three years which
ad followed his accession he had not been loved
y his subjects. His domestic virtues were ac-
nowledged. But it was generally thought that
he good qualities by which he was distinguished
n private life were wanting to his political char-
acter. As a sovereign, he was resentful, unfor-
giving, stubborn, cunning. Under his rule the
country had sustained cruel disgraces and dis-
asters; and every one of those disgraces and
disasters was imputed to his strong antipathies
and to his perverse obstinacy in the wrong. On
statesman after another complained that he ha
been induced by royal caresses, entreaties, a
promises to undertake the direction of affairs
a difficult conjuncture, and that as soon as
[illegible] not without sullying his fame and ali
[illegible] served the turn for wh

sponsible counsellors to whom he had delivered the seals of office, but in secret advisers who stole up the back stairs into his closet. In Parliament his ministers, while defending themselves against the attacks of the opposition in front, were perpetually, at his instigation, assailed on the flank or in the rear by a vile band of mercenaries who called themselves his friends. These men constantly, while in possession of lucrative places in his service, spoke and voted against bills which he had authorized the first lord of the treasury or the secretary of state to bring in. But from the day in which Pitt was placed at the head of affairs there was an end of secret influence. His haughty and aspiring spirit was not to be satisfied with the mere show of power. Any attempt to undermine him at court, any mutinous movement among his followers in the House of Commons, was certain to be at once put down. He had only to tender his resignation, and he could dictate his own terms. For he, and he alone, stood between the King and the coalition. He was therefore little less than mayor of the palace. The nation loudly applauded the King for having the wisdom to repose entire confidence in so excellent a minister. His Majesty's private virtues now began to produce their full effect. He was generally regarded as the model of a respectable country gentleman, honest, good-natured, sober, religious. He rose early; he dined temperately; he was strictly faithful to his wife; he never missed

church; and at church he never missed a response. His people heartily prayed that he might long reign over them; and they prayed the more heartily because his virtues were set off to the best advantage by the vices and follies of the Prince of Wales, who lived in close intimacy with the chiefs of the opposition.

How strong this feeling was in the public mind appeared signally on one great occasion. In the autumn of 1788 the King became insane. The opposition, eager for office, committed the great indiscretion of asserting that the heir-apparent had, by the fundamental laws of England, a right to be Regent with the full powers of royalty. Pitt, on the other hand, maintained it to be the constitutional doctrine that, when a sovereign is, by reason of infancy, disease, or absence, incapable of exercising the regal functions, it belongs to the estates of the realm to determine who shall be the vicegerent, and with what portion of the executive authority such vicegerent shall be intrusted. A long and violent contest followed, in which Pitt was supported by the great body of the people with as much enthusiasm as during the first months of his administration. Tories with one voice applauded hir for defending the sick-bed of a virtuous and v happy sovereign against a disloyal faction r an undutiful son. Not a few Whigs appla him for asserting the authority of Parlia and the principles of the revolution, in tion to a doctrine which seemed to b

much affinity with the servile theory of indefeasible hereditary right. The middle class, always zealous on the side of decency and the domestic virtues, looked forward with dismay to a reign resembling that of Charles II. The palace, which had now been during thirty years the pattern of an English home, would be a public nuisance, a school of profligacy. To the good King's repast of mutton and lemonade, despatched at three o'clock, would succeed midnight banquets, from which the guests would be carried home speechless. To the backgammon-board at which the good King played for a little silver with his equerries, would succeed faro-tables, from which young patricians who had sat down rich would rise up beggars. The drawing-room, from which the frown of the Queen had repelled a whole generation of frail beauties, would now be again what it had been in the days of Barbara Palmer and Louisa de Querouaile. Nay, severely as the public reprobated the Prince's many illicit attachments, his one virtuous attachment was reprobated more severely still. Even in grave and pious circles his Protestant mistresses gave less scandal than his Popish wife. That he must be Regent nobody ventured to deny. But he and his friends were so unpopular that Pitt could, with general approbation, propose to limit the powers of the Regent by restrictions to which it would have been impossible to subject a prince beloved and trusted by the country. Some interested men, fully expecting a change of admin-

istration, went over to the opposition. But the majority, purified by these desertions, closed its ranks, and presented a more firm array than ever to the enemy. In every division Pitt was victorious. When, at length, after a stormy interregnum of three weeks, it was announced, on the very eve of the inauguration of the Regent, that the King was himself again, the nation was wild with delight. On the evening of the day on which his Majesty resumed his functions a spontaneous illumination, the most general that had ever been seen in England, brightened the whole vast space from Highgate to Tooting, and from Hammersmith to Greenwich. On the day on which he returned thanks in the cathedral of his capital all the horses and carriages within a hundred miles of London were too few for the multitudes which flocked to see him pass through the streets. A second illumination followed, which was even superior to the first in magnificence. Pitt with difficulty escaped from the tumultuous kindness of an innumerable multitude which insisted on drawing his coach from St. Paul's Church-yard to Downing Street. This was the moment at which his fame and fortune [illegible] he said to have reached the zenith. Hi[illegible] [illegible] was as great as that [illegible]

did more to raise his character than his noble poverty. It was well known that, if he had been dismissed from office, after more than five years of boundless power, he would hardly have carried out with him a sum sufficient to furnish the set of chambers in which, he cheerfully declared, he meant to resume the practice of the law. His admirers, however, were by no means disposed to suffer him to depend on daily toil for his daily bread. The voluntary contributions which were awaiting his acceptance in the city of London alone would have sufficed to make him a rich man. But it may be doubted whether his haughty spirit would have stooped to accept a provision so honorably earned and so honorably bestowed.

To such a height of power and glory had this extraordinary man risen at twenty-nine years of age. And now the tide was on the turn. Only ten days after the triumphant procession to St. Paul's, the States-General of France, after an interval of a hundred and seventy-four years, met at Versailles.

The nature of the great Revolution which followed was long very imperfectly understood in this country. Burke saw much further than any of his contemporaries; but whatever his sagacity descried was refracted and discolored by his passions and his imagination. More than three years elapsed before the principles of the English administration underwent any material change. Nothing could as yet be milder or more strictly

han the minister's domestic pol-
ngle act indicating an arbitrary
ılousy of the people could be im-
He had never applied to Parlia-
extraordinary powers. He had
ı harshness the ordinary powers
e constitution to the executive
Not a single state prosecution
en now be called oppressive had
by him. Indeed, the only op-
ɔrosecution instituted during the
of his administration was that of
h is to be attributed, not to the
t to the chiefs of the opposition.
ıad redeemed the pledges which
ntrance into public life, given to
f parliamentary reform. He had,
t forward a judicious plan for the
f the representative system, and
n the King, not only to refrain
gainst that plan, but to recom-
Houses in a speech from the
attempt failed; but there can be
t, if the French Revolution had
violent reaction of public feeling
performed, with little difficul-

no danger, that great work which, at a later
d, Lord Grey could accomplish only by
ıs which, for a time, loosened the very foun-
ıns of the commonwealth. When the atroci-
of the slave-trade were first brought under
:onsideration of Parliament, no abolitionist
more zealous than Pitt. When sickness pre-
:d Wilberforce from appearing in public, his
ı was most efficiently supplied by his friend
minister. A humane bill, which mitigated
ıorrors of the middle passage, was, in 1788,
ed by the eloquence and determined spirit
itt, in spite of the opposition of some of his
colleagues; and it ought always to be re-
bered to his honor that, in order to carry
bill, he kept the Houses sitting, in spite of
y murmurs, long after the business of the
rnment had been done, and the appropria-
act passed. In 1791 he cordially concurred
Fox in maintaining the sound constitution-
ıctrine that an impeachment is not termi-
l by a dissolution. In the course of the
: year the two great rivals contended side by
in a far more important cause. They are
' entitled to divide the high honor of having
d to our statute-book the inestimable law
h places the liberty of the press under the
:ction of juries. On one occasion, and one
:, Pitt, during the first half of his long ad-
ıtration, acted in a manner unworthy of an
htened Whig. In the debate on the test
he stooped to gratify the master whom he

served, the university which he represented, a
the great body of clergymen and country gent
men on whose support he rested, by talking, w
little heartiness, indeed, and with no asperi
the language of a Tory. With this single
ception, his conduct from the end of 1788 to
middle of 1792 was that of an honest friend
civil and religious liberty.

Nor did anything, during that period, in
cate that he loved war, or harbored any mal
olent feeling against any neighboring nati
Those French writers who have represented h
as a Hannibal, sworn in childhood by his fat
to bear eternal hatred to France, as having,
mysterious intrigues and lavish bribes, instiga
the leading Jacobins to commit those excess
which dishonored the Revolution, as having b
the real author of the first coalition, know no
ing of his character or of his history. So
was he from being a deadly enemy to Fran
that his laudable attempts to bring about a clo
connection with that country by means of a w
and liberal treaty of commerce brought on h
the severe censure of the opposition. He w
told in the House of Commons that he was a
generate son, and that his partiality for the
reditary foes of our island was enough to m
his great father's bones stir under the pav
of the Abbey.

And this man, whose name, if he had
fortunate as to die in 1792, would now ha
associated with peace, with freedom, w

lanthropy, with temperate reform, with mild and constitutional administration, lived to associate his name with arbitrary government, with harsh laws harshly executed, with alien bills, with gagging bills, with suspensions of the habeas corpus act, with cruel punishments inflicted on some political agitators, with unjustifiable prosecutions instituted against others, and with the most costly and most sanguinary wars of modern times. He lived to be held up to obloquy as the stern oppressor of England and the indefatigable disturber of Europe. Poets, contrasting his earlier with his later years, likened him sometimes to the apostle who kissed in order to betray, and sometimes to the evil angels who kept not their first estate. A satirist of great genius introduced the fiends of Famine, Slaughter, and Fire, proclaiming that they had received their commission from One whose name was formed of four letters, and promising to give their employer ample proofs of gratitude. Famine would gnaw the multitude till they should rise up against him in madness. The demon of Slaughter would impel them to tear him limb from limb. But Fire boasted that she alone could reward him as he deserved, and that she would cling around him to all eternity. By the French press and the French tribune every crime that disgraced and every calamity that afflicted France was ascribed to the monster Pitt and his guineas. While the Jacobins were dominant, it was he who had corrupted the Gironde, who had raised Lyons and Bordeaux against the

ate Lepelletier, and Cecilia Regnault to ass
ate Robespierre. When the Thermidori
action came, all the atrocities of the Rei
Terror were imputed to him. Collot D'H
and Fouquier Thinville had been his pensi
It was he who had hired the murderers o
tember, who had dictated the pamphlets o
rat and the Carmagnoles of Barrère, wh
paid Lebon to deluge Arras with blood, an
rier to choke the Loire with corpses.

The truth is, that he liked neither war n
bitrary government. He was a lover of
and freedom, driven, by a stress against
t was hardly possible for any will or any
ect to struggle, out of the course to whic
nclinations pointed, and for which his ab
and acquirements fitted him, and forced i
policy repugnant to his feelings and unsuit
his talents.

filled the [illegible]
itants of the civilized world. D
time the nation, and Pitt, as one
looked with interest and approb
French Revolution. But soon
tions, the violent sweeping away
stitutions, the domination of club
ties of mobs maddened by famin
produced a reaction here. The
bility, the gentry, the clergy, the
the merchants; in short, ninetee
those who had good roofs over t
good coats on their backs becam
tolerant Antijacobins. This feel
as strong among the minister's
among his supporters. Fox in
to restrain his followers. All h
vast personal influence, could n
[illegible] against him in

nately resisted the general wish. Pressed at once by his master and by his colleagues, by old friends and by old opponents, he abandoned, slowly and reluctantly, the policy which was dear to his heart. He labored hard to avert the European war. When the European war broke out he still flattered himself that it would not be necessary for this country to take either side. In the spring of 1792 he congratulated Parliament on the prospect of long and profound peace, and proved his sincerity by proposing large remissions of taxation. Down to the end of that year he continued to cherish the hope that England might be able to preserve neutrality. But the passions which raged on both sides of the Channel were not to be restrained. The republicans who ruled France were inflamed by a fanaticism resembling that of the Mussulmans, who, with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, went forth, conquering and converting, eastward to the Bay of Bengal, and westward to the Pillars of Hercules. The higher and middle classes of England were animated by a zeal not less fiery than that of the Crusaders who raised the cry of *Deus vult* at Clermont. The impulse which drove the two nations to a collision was not to be arrested by the abilities or by the authority of any single man. As Pitt was in front of his fellows, and towered high above them, he seemed to lead them. But in fact he was violently pushed on by them, and, had he held back but a little more than he did, would have been thrust out of their way or trampled under their feet.

He yielded to the current; and from that day his misfortunes began. The truth is, that there were only two consistent courses before him. Since he did not choose to oppose himself, side by side with Fox, to the public feeling, he should have taken the advice of Burke, and should have availed himself of that feeling to the full extent. If it was impossible to preserve peace, he should have adopted the only policy which could lead to victory. He should have proclaimed a Holy War for religion, morality, property, order, public law, and should have thus opposed to the Jacobins an energy equal to their own. Unhappily he tried to find a middle path; and he found one which united all that was worst in both extremes. He went to war; but he would not understand the peculiar character of that war. He was obstinately blind to the plain fact that he was contending against a state which was also a sect; and that the new quarrel between England and France was of quite a different kind from the old quarrels about colonies in America and fortresses in the Netherlands. He had to combat frantic enthusiasm, boundless ambition, restless activity, the wildest and most audacious spirit of innovation; and he acted as if he had to deal with the harlots and fops of the old Court at Versailles, with Madame de Pompadour and the Abbé de Bernis. It was pitiable to hear him, year after year, proving to an admiring audience that the wicked republic was exhausted, that she could not hold out, that her credit was

edit was nec[illegible]
e principle was rapine, as if Alboin could not
rn Italy into a desert till he had negotiated a
an at five per cent., as if the exchequer bills
f Attila had been at par. It was impossible
hat a man who so completely mistook the na-
ure of a contest could carry on that contest suc-
essfully. Great as Pitt's abilities were, his mil-
tary administration was that of a driveller. He
vas at the head of a nation engaged in a struggle
for life and death, of a nation eminently distin-
guished by all the physical and all the moral
qualities which make excellent soldiers. The
resources at his command were unlimited. The
Parliament was even more ready to grant him
men and money than he was to ask for them
In such an emergency, and with such means
such a statesman as Richelieu, as Louvois, as
Chatham, as Wellesley, would have created in
[illegible] of the finest armies in the world

far exceeding the expenditure of the American war, of the Seven-Years' War, of the war of the Austrian Succession, and of the war of the Spanish Succession united, the English army, under Pitt, was the laughing-stock of all Europe. It could not boast of one single brilliant exploit. It had never shown itself on the Continent but to be beaten, chased, forced to re-embark, or forced to capitulate. To take some sugar island in the West Indies, to scatter some mob of half-naked Irish peasants, such were the most splendid victories won by the British troops under Pitt's auspices.

The English navy no mismanagement could ruin. But during a long period whatever mismanagement could do was done. The Earl of Chatham, without a single qualification for high public trust, was made, by fraternal partiality, first lord of the admiralty, and was kept in that great post during two years of a war in which the very existence of the state depended on the efficiency of the fleet. He continued to doze away and trifle away the time which ought to have been devoted to the public service, till the whole mercantile body, though generally disposed to support the government, complained bitterly that our flag gave no protection to our trade. Fortunately he was succeeded by George Earl Spencer, one of those chiefs of the Whig party who, in the great schism caused by the French Revolution, had followed Burke. Lord Spencer, though inferior to many of his colleagues as

an orator, was decidedly the best administrator among them. To him it was owing that a long and gloomy succession of days of fasting, and, most emphatically, of humiliation, was interrupted, twice in the short space of eleven months, by days of thanksgiving for great victories.

It may seem paradoxical to say that the incapacity which Pitt showed in all that related to the conduct of the war is, in some sense, the most decisive proof that he was a man of very extraordinary abilities. Yet this is the simple truth. For assuredly one-tenth part of his errors and disasters would have been fatal to the power and influence of any minister who had not possessed, in the highest degree, the talents of a parliamentary leader. While his schemes were confounded, while his predictions were falsified, while the coalitions which he had labored to form were falling to pieces, while the expeditions which he had sent forth at enormous cost were ending in rout and disgrace, while the enemy against whom he was feebly contending was subjugating Flanders and Brabant, the electorate of Mentz and the electorate of Treves, Holland, Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardy, his authority over the House of Commons was constantly becoming more and more absolute. There was his empire. There were his victories, his Lodi and his Arcola, his Rivoli and his Marengo. If some great misfortune, a pitched battle lost by the allies, the annexation of a new department to the French republic, a sanguinary insurrection in Ireland, a

mutiny in the fleet, a panic in the city, a run on the bank, had spread dismay through the ranks of his majority, that dismay lasted only till he rose from the treasury bench, drew up his haughty head, stretched his arm with commanding gesture, and poured forth, in deep and sonorous tones, the lofty language of inextinguishable hope and inflexible resolution. Thus, through a long and calamitous period, every disaster that happened without the walls of Parliament was regularly followed by a triumph within them. At length he had no longer an opposition to encounter. Of the great party which had contended against him during the first eight years of his administration, more than one half now marched under his standard, with his old competitor the Duke of Portland at their head; and the rest had, after many vain struggles, quitted the field in despair. Fox had retired to the shades of St. Anne's Hill, and had there found, in the society of friends whom no vicissitude could estrange from him, of a woman whom he tenderly loved, and of the illustrious dead of Athens, of Rome, and of Florence, ample compensation for all the misfortunes of his public life. Session followed session with scarcely a single division. In the eventful year 1799, the largest minority that could be mustered against the government was twenty-five.

In Pitt's domestic policy there was at this time assuredly no want of vigor. While he offered to French Jacobinism a resistance so feeble

to suppress, he put down English Jacol
with a strong hand. The habeas corpus a
repeatedly suspended. Public meetings
placed under severe restraints. The gover
obtained from Parliament power to send
the country aliens who were suspected of e
signs; and that power was not suffered to b
Writers who propounded doctrines adve
monarchy and aristocracy were proscribe
punished without mercy. It was hardly s
a republican to avow his political creed ov
beef-steak and his bottle of port at a chop-l
The old laws of Scotland against sedition
which were considered by Englishmen a
barous, and which a succession of govern
had suffered to rust, were now furbished u
sharpened anew. Men of cultivated minc
polished manners were, for offences whi
Westminster would have been treated as
misdemeanors, sent to herd with felons at B
Bay. Some reformers, whose opinions we
travagant, and whose language was intemp
but who had never dreamed of subvertin
government by physical force, were indict
high-treason, and were saved from the g
only by the righteous verdicts of juries.
severity was at the time loudly applaud
alarmists whom fear had made cruel, but v
seen in a very different light by posterity.
truth is, that the Englishmen who wished
revolution were, even in number, not formi

and, in everything but number, a faction utterly contemptible, without arms or funds or plans or organization or leader. There can be no doubt that Pitt, strong as he was in the support of the great body of the nation, might easily have repressed the turbulence of the discontented minority by firmly yet temperately enforcing the ordinary law. Whatever vigor he showed during this unfortunate part of his life was vigor out of place and season. He was all feebleness and languor in his conflict with the foreign enemy who was really to be dreaded, and reserved all his energy and resolution for the domestic enemy, who might safely have been despised.

One part only of Pitt's conduct during the last eight years of the eighteenth century deserves high praise. He was the first English minister who formed great designs for the benefit of Ireland. The manner in which the Roman Catholic population of that unfortunate country had been kept down during many generations seemed to him unjust and cruel; and it was scarcely possible for a man of his abilities not to perceive that, in a contest against the Jacobins, the Roman Catholics were his natural allies. Had he been able to do all that he wished, it is probable that a wise and liberal policy would have averted the rebellion of 1798. But the difficulties which he encountered were great, perhaps insurmountable; and the Roman Catholics were, rather by his misfortune than by his fault, thrown into the hands of the Jacobins. There was a third great

rising of the Irishry against the Englishry, a rising not less formidable than the risings of 1641 and 1689. The Englishry remained victorious; and it was necessary for Pitt, as it had been necessary for Oliver Cromwell and William of Orange before him, to consider how the victory should be used. It is only just to his memory to say that he formed a scheme of policy, so grand and so simple, so righteous and so humane, that it would alone entitle him to a high place among statesmen. He determined to make Ireland one kingdom with England, and, at the same time, to relieve the Roman Catholic laity from civil disabilities, and to grant a public maintenance to the Roman Catholic clergy. Had he been able to carry these noble designs into effect, the Union would have been a Union indeed. It would have been inseparably associated in the minds of the great majority of Irishmen with civil and religious freedom; and the old Parliament in College Green would have been regretted only by a small knot of discarded jobbers and oppressors, and would not have been remembered by the body of the nation with the loathing and contempt due to the most tyrannical and the most corrupt assembly that had ever sat in Europe. But Pitt could execute only one half of what he had projected. He succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Parliaments of both kingdoms to the Union; but that reconciliation of races and sects, without which the Union could exist only in name, was not accomplished.

He was well aware that he was likely to find difficulties in the closet. But he flattered himself that, by cautious and dexterous management, those difficulties might be overcome. Unhappily, there were traitors and sycophants in high place, who did not suffer him to take his own time and his own way, but prematurely disclosed his scheme to the King, and disclosed it in the manner most likely to irritate and alarm a weak and diseased mind. His Majesty absurdly imagined that his coronation-oath bound him to refuse his assent to any bill for relieving Roman Catholics from civil disabilities. To argue with him was impossible. Dundas tried to explain the matter, but was told to keep his Scotch metaphysics to himself. Pitt and Pitt's ablest colleagues resigned their offices. It was necessary that the King should make a new arrangement. But by this time his anger and distress had brought back the malady which had, many years before, incapacitated him for the discharge of his functions. He actually assembled his family, read the coronation-oath to them, and told them that, if he broke it, the Crown would immediately pass to the House of Savoy. It was not until after an interregnum of several weeks that he regained the full use of his small faculties, and that a ministry after his own heart was at length formed.

The materials out of which he had to construct a government were neither solid nor splendid. To that party, weak in numbers, but strong in

every kind of talent which was hostile to the domestic and foreign policy of his late advisers, he could not have recourse. For that party, while it differed from his late advisers on every point on which they had been honored with his approbation, cordially agreed with them as to the single matter which had brought on them his displeasure. All that was left to him was to call up the rear rank of the old ministry to form the front rank of a new ministry. In an age pre-eminently fruitful of parliamentary talents, a cabinet was formed containing hardly a single man who, in parliamentary talents, could be considered as even of the second rate. The most important offices in the state were bestowed on decorous and laborious mediocrity. Henry Addington was the head of the treasury. He had been an early, indeed an hereditary friend of Pitt, and had by Pitt's influence been placed, while still a young man, in the chair of the House of Commons. He was universally admitted to have been the best speaker that had sat in that chair since the retirement of Onslow. But nature had not bestowed on him very vigorous faculties; and the highly respectable situation which he had long occupied with honor had rather unfitted than fitted him for the discharge of his new duties. His business had been to bear himself evenly between contending factions. He had taken no part in the war of words; and he had always been addressed with marked deference by the great orators who thundered against

each oth [illegible] It was not strange that [illegible] for the first time, he had to encounter keen and vigorous antagonists, who dealt hard blows without the smallest ceremony, he should have been awkward and unready, or that the air of dignity and authority which he had acquired in his former post, and of which he had not divested himself, should have made his helplessness laughable and pitiable. Nevertheless, during many months, his power seemed to stand firm. He was a favorite with the King, whom he resembled in narrowness of mind, and to whom he was more obsequious than Pitt had ever been. The nation was put into high good-humor by a peace with France. The enthusiasm with which the upper and middle classes had rushed into the war had spent itself. Jacobinism was no longer formidable. Everywhere there was a strong reaction against what was called the atheistical and anarchical philosophy of the eighteenth century. Bonaparte, now First Consul, was busy in constructing out of the ruins of old institutions a new ecclesiastical establishment and a new order of knighthood. That nothing less than the dominion of the whole civilized world would satisfy his selfish ambition was not yet suspected; nor did even wise men see any reason to doubt that he might be as safe a neighbor as any prince of the House of Bourbon had been. The treaty of Amiens was therefore hailed by the great body of the English people with extravagant joy. The popularity

A new opposition had indeed been formed
some of the late ministers, and was led by Gr
ville in the House of Lords, and by Windhan
the House of Commons. But the new opp
tion could scarcely muster ten votes, and was
garded with no favor by the country. On 1
the ministers relied as on their firmest supp
He had not, like some of his colleagues, reti
in anger. He had expressed the greatest resp
for the conscientious scruple which had ta
possession of the royal mind; and he had pr
ised his successors all the help in his power.
private his advice was at their service. In I
liament he took his seat on the bench bel
them; and, in more than one debate, defen
them with powers far superior to their o
The King perfectly understood the value of s
assistance. On one occasion, at the palace,
took the old minister and the new minister as

which he had set up, which he was to govern while he suffered it to remain, and which he was to fling aside as soon as he wished to resume his old position. Nor was it long before he began to pine for the power which he had relinquished. He had been so early raised to supreme authority in the state, and had enjoyed that authority so long, that it had become necessary to him. In retirement his days passed heavily. He could not, like Fox, forget the pleasures and cares of ambition in the company of Euripides or Herodotus. Pride restrained him from intimating, even to his dearest friends, that he wished to be again minister. But he thought it strange, almost ungrateful, that his wish had not been divined, that it had not been anticipated, by one whom he regarded as his deputy.

Addington, on the other hand, was by no means inclined to descend from his high position. He was, indeed, under a delusion much resembling that of Abon Hassan in the Arabian tale. His brain was turned by his short and unreal caliphate. He took his elevation quite seriously, attributed it to his own merit, and considered himself as one of the great triumvirate of English statesmen, as worthy to make a third with Pitt and Fox.

Such being the feelings of the late minister and of the present minister, a rupture was inevitable; and there was no want of persons bent on making that rupture speedy and violent. Some of these persons wounded Addington's

expense. Pitt had waged a long, a b
costly, an unsuccessful war. Adding
made peace. Pitt had suspended the
tional liberties of Englishmen. Under
ton those liberties were again enjoyed.
wasted the public resources. Adding
carefully nursing them. It was someti
too evident that these compliments were
pleasing to Addington. Pitt became
reserved. During many months he rem
a distance from London. Meanwhile
intimate friends, in spite of his declarati
he made no complaint, and that he had
for office, exerted themselves to effect
of ministry. His favorite disciple, Geo
ning, young, ardent, ambitious, with gr
ers and great virtues, but with a temper
less and a wit too satirical for his own ha
was indefatigable. He spoke; he wrote
trigued; he tried to induce a large nu
the supporters of the Government to
round-robin desiring a change; he ma
of Addington and of Addington's relati
succession of lively pasquinades. The n
partisans retorted with equal acrimon
with equal vivacity. Pitt could keep
affray only by keeping out of politics
er; and this it soon became impossib

to do. Had Napoleon, content with the first place among the sovereigns of the Continent, and with a military reputation surpassing that of Marlborough or of Turenne, devoted himself to the noble task of making France happy by mild administration and wise legislation, our country might have long continued to tolerate a government of fair intentions and feeble abilities. Unhappily, the treaty of Amiens had scarcely been signed when the restless ambition and the insupportable insolence of the First Consul convinced the great body of the English people that the peace so eagerly welcomed was only a precarious armistice. As it became clearer and clearer that a war for the dignity, the independence, the very existence of the nation, was at hand, men looked with increasing uneasiness on the weak and languid cabinet, which would have to contend against an enemy who united more than the power of Lewis the Great to more than the genius of Frederick the Great. It is true that Addington might easily have been a better war minister than Pitt, and could not possibly have been a worse. But Pitt had cast a spell on the public mind. The eloquence, the judgment, the calm and disdainful firmness which he had, during many years, displayed in Parliament, deluded the world into the belief that he must be eminently qualified to superintend every department of politics; and they imagined, even after the miserable failures of Dunkirk, of Quiberon, and of the Helder, that he

was the only statesman who could cope w
Bonaparte. This feeling was nowhere strong
than among Addington's own colleagues. T
pressure put on him was so strong that he co
not help yielding to it; yet, even in yielding,
showed how far he was from knowing his o
place. His first proposition was that some
significant nobleman should be first lord of t
treasury and nominal head of the administ
tion, and that the real power should be divid
between Pitt and himself, who were to be sec
taries of state. Pitt, as might have been expe
ed, refused even to discuss such a scheme, a
talked of it with bitter mirth. "Which sec
taryship was offered to you?" his friend Wilb
force asked. "Really," said Pitt, "I had n
the curiosity to inquire." Addington was frig
ened into bidding higher. He offered to resi
the treasury to Pitt, on condition that th
should be no extensive change in the gove
ment. But Pitt would listen to no such tern
Then came a dispute such as often arises af
negotiations orally conducted, even when t
negotiators are men of strict honor. Pitt ga
one account of what had passed; Adding
gave another; and though the discrepancies
not such as necessarily implied any inter
violation of truth on either side, both wer
ly exasperated.

Meanwhile the quarrel with the Fir
had come to a crisis. On the 16th of M
the King sent a message calling on the

were two hundred members who ha
him. It was known that on thi
would be in his place, and curiosi
up to the highest point. Unfo
short-hand writers were, in conseq
mistake, shut out on that day fro
so that the newspapers containe
meagre report of the proceedings.
accounts of what passed are extant
accounts the most interesting is c
unpublished letter written by a ver
ber, John William Ward, afterward
ley. When Pitt rose he was recei
cheering. At every pause in his
was a burst of applause. The per
to have been one of the most
magnificent ever heard in Parliam

for the prime minister.

War was speedily declared. The First
threatened to invade England at the head
conquerors of Belgium and Italy, and fo
great camp near the Straits of Dover. (
other side of those Straits the whole popula
our island was ready to rise up as one man
fence of the soil. At this conjuncture, as a
other great conjunctures in our history—th
juncture of 1660, for example, and the co
ture of 1688—there was a general disp
among honest and patriotic men to forg
quarrels, and to regard as a friend every
who was ready, in the existing emergency,
his part towards the saving of the state.
alition of all the first men in the country

[illegible] party which [illegible]
peace, headed by Grenville and Wind
party which had opposed the renewa
headed by Fox, concurred in think
men now in power were incapal
making a good peace or waging a v
Pitt had, in 1802, spoken for peace
party of Grenville, and had, in 180
war against the party of Fox. B
pacity of the cabinet, and especially
for the conduct of great affairs, he
meanly as either Fox or Grenville
were easily found on which all the
the government could act cordia
The unfortunate first lord of the t
had, during the earlier months of
tration, been supported by Pitt on
by Fox on the other, now had to

was necessary to give way: the ministry was dissolved; and the task of forming a government was intrusted to Pitt.

Pitt was of opinion that there was now an opportunity, such as had never before offered itself, and such as might never offer itself again, of uniting in the public service, on honorable terms, all the eminent talents of the kingdom. The passions to which the French Revolution had given birth were extinct. The madness of the innovator and the madness of the alarmist had alike had their day. Jacobinism and Anti-jacobinism had gone out of fashion together. The most liberal statesman did not think that season propitious for schemes of parliamentary reform; and the most conservative statesman could not pretend that there was any occasion for gagging bills and suspensions of the habeas corpus act. The great struggle for independence and national honor occupied all minds; and those who were agreed as to the duty of maintaining that struggle with vigor might well postpone to a more convenient time all disputes about matters comparatively unimportant. Strongly ir pressed by these considerations, Pitt wished form a ministry including all the first men i country. The treasury he reserved for hi and to Fox he proposed to assign a share er little inferior to his own.

The plan was excellent; but the K not hear of it. Dull, obstinate, unforg at that time half mad, he positively

admit Fox into his service. Anybody else, even men who had gone as far as Fox, or further than Fox, in what his Majesty considered as Jacobinism—Sheridan, Grey, Erskine—should be graciously received; but Fox never. During several hours Pitt labored in vain to reason down this senseless antipathy. That he was perfectly sincere there can be no doubt; but it was not enough to be sincere—he should have been resolute. Had he declared himself determined not to take office without Fox, the royal obstinacy would have given way, as it gave way, a few months later, when opposed to the immutable resolution of Lord Grenville. In an evil hour Pitt yielded. He flattered himself with the hope that, though he consented to forego the aid of his illustrious rival, there would still remain ample materials for the formation of an efficient ministry. That hope was cruelly disappointed. Fox entreated his friends to leave personal considerations out of the question, and declared that he would support, with the utmost cordiality, an efficient and patriotic ministry from which he should be himself excluded. Not only his friends, however, but Grenville, and Grenville's adherents, answered with one voice that the question was not personal; that a great constitutional principle was at stake, and that they would not take office while a man eminently qualified to render service to the commonwealth was placed under a ban merely because he was disliked at court. All that was left to Pitt was to construct

been created Viscount Melville, Lord Hal
and Canning.

Such was the inauspicious manner in
Pitt entered on his second administratio
whole history of that administration w
piece with the commencement. Almos
month brought some new disaster or di
To the war with France was soon addec
with Spain. The opponents of the minist
numerous, able, and active. His most
coadjutors he soon lost. Sickness depriv
of the help of Lord Harrowby. It was
ered that Lord Melville had been guilty c
ly culpable laxity in transactions relat
public money. He was censured by the
of Commons, driven from office, ejecte

ever, and proceeded with his usual majestic self-possession.

His difficulties compelled him to resort to various expedients. At one time Addington was persuaded to accept office with a peerage; but he brought no additional strength to the government. Though he went through the form of reconciliation, it was impossible for him to forget the past. While he remained in place he was jealous and punctilious; and he soon retired again. At another time Pitt renewed his efforts to overcome his master's aversion to Fox; and it was rumored that the King's obstinacy was gradually giving way. But, meanwhile, it was impossible for the minister to conceal from the public eye the decay of his health and the constant anxiety which gnawed at his heart. His sleep was broken. His food ceased to nourish him. All who passed him in the park, all who had interviews with him in Downing Street, saw misery written in his face. The peculiar look which he wore during the last months of his life was often pathetically described by Wilberforce, who used to call it the Austerlitz look.

Still the vigor of Pitt's intellectual faculties and the intrepid haughtiness of his spirit remained unaltered. He had staked everything on a great venture. He had succeeded in forming another mighty coalition against the French ascendency. The united forces of Austria, Russia, and England might, he hoped, oppose an insurmountable barrier to the ambition of the com-

mon enemy. But the gen ınd e ergy of
poleon prevailed. While the English troops w
preparing to embark for Germany, while the R
sian troops were slowly coming up from Pola
he, with rapidity unprecedented in modern w
moved a hundred thousand men from the sho
of the ocean to the Black Forest, and compel
a great Austrian army to surrender at Ulm.
the first faint rumors of this calamity Pitt wo
give no credit. He was irritated by the alar
of those around him. "Do not believe a w
of it," he said; "it is all a fiction." The n
day he received a Dutch newspaper contain
the capitulation. He knew no Dutch. It
Sunday, and the public offices were shut.
carried the paper to Lord Malmesbury, who h
been minister in Holland; and Lord Malm
bury translated it. Pitt tried to bear up,
the shock was too great; and he went away w
death in his face.

The news of the battle of Trafalgar arri
four days later, and seemed for a moment to
vive him. Forty-eight hours after that m
glorious and most mournful of victories
been announced to the country came the
Mayor's Day, and Pitt dined at Guildhall.
popularity had declined. But on this c
the multitude, greatly excited by the r
dings, welcomed him enthusiastically
his horses in Cheapside, and drew his
King Street. When his health wa
returned thanks in two or three of

sentences of which he had a boundless command. Several of those who heard him laid up his words in their hearts; for they were the last words that he ever uttered in public; "Let us hope that England, having saved herself by her energy, may save Europe by her example."

This was but a momentary rally. Austerlitz soon completed what Ulm had begun. Early in December Pitt had retired to Bath, in the hope that he might there gather strength for the approaching session. While he was languishing there on his sofa arrived the news that a decisive battle had been fought and lost in Moravia, that the coalition was dissolved, that the Continent was at the feet of France. He sank down under the blow. Ten days later he was so emaciated that his most intimate friends hardly knew him. He came up from Bath by slow journeys, and on the 11th of January, 1806, reached his villa at Putney. Parliament was to meet on the 21st. On the 20th was to be the Parliamentary dinner, at the house of the first lord of the treasury, in Downing Street; and the cards were already issued. But the days of the great minister were numbered. The only chance for his life, and that a very slight chance, was that he should resign his office and pass some months in profound repose. His colleagues paid him very short visits, and carefully avoided political conversation. But his spirit, long accustomed to dominion, could not, even in that extremity, relinquish hopes which everybody but himself

ment and exertion of this interview were too much for the sick man. He fainted away; and Lord Wellesley left the house, convinced that the close was fast approaching.

And now members of Parliament were fast coming up to London. The chiefs of the opposition met for the purpose of considering the course to be taken on the first day of the session. It was easy to guess what would be the language of the King's speech, and of the address which would be moved in answer to that speech. An amendment condemning the policy of the government had been prepared, and was to have been proposed in the House of Commons by Lord Henry Petty, a young nobleman who had already won for himself that place i

the esteem of his country which, after
of more than half a century, he still
He was unwilling, however, to come fc
the accuser of one who was incapable c
ing himself. Lord Grenville, who had
formed of Pitt's state by Lord Welle
had been deeply affected by it, earnestl
mended forbearance; and Fox, with c
istic generosity and good-nature, gave
against attacking his now helpless rival.
lacrymæ rerum," he said, "et mentem
tangunt." On the first day, therefo
was no debate. It was rumored tha
that Pitt was better. But on the
morning his physicians pronounced t
were no hopes. The commanding fac
which he had been too proud were beg
fail. His old tutor and friend, the E
Lincoln, informed him of his danger,
such religious advice and consolation
fused and obscured mind could receive.
were told of devout sentiments ferventl
by the dying man. But these stories
credit with anybody who knew him.
force pronounced it impossible that tl

[illegible] of the day in which
seat in Parliament. He was in
year, and had been, during near
first lord of the treasury, and u
of the administration. Since pa
ernment was established in Engl
statesmen has held supreme powe
pole, it is true, was first lord of t
ing more than twenty years, bu
Walpole had been some time f
treasury that he could be proper
minister.

It was moved in the House of
Pitt should be honored with a pul
a monument. The motion was c
in a speech which deserves to b
model of good taste and good feeli
was the most invidious that ever
dertook; but it was performed w

had been made near to the spot where his great father lay, near also to the spot where his great rival was soon to lie. The sadness of the assistants was beyond that of ordinary mourners. For he whom they were committing to the dust had died of sorrows and anxieties of which none of the survivors could be altogether without a share. Wilberforce, who carried the banner before the hearse, described the awful ceremony with deep feeling. As the coffin descended into the earth, he said, the eagle face of Chatham from above seemed to look down with consternation into the dark house which was receiving all that remained of so much power and glory.

All parties in the House of Commons readily concurred in voting forty thousand pounds to satisfy the demands of Pitt's creditors. Some of his admirers seemed to consider the magnitude of his embarrassments as a circumstance highly honorable to him; but men of sense will probably be of a different opinion. It is far better, no doubt, that a great minister should carry his contempt of money to excess, than that he should contaminate his hands with unlawful gain. But it is neither right nor becoming in a man to whom the public has given an income more than sufficient for his comfort and dignity, to bequeath to that public a great debt, the effect of mere negligence and profusion. As first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, Pitt never had less than six thousand a year, besides an excellent house. In 1792 he was forced by

neither wife nor child; he had no nee
tions; he had no expensive tastes; he
long election bills. Had he given but a
of an hour a week to the regulation of hi
hold, he would have kept his expenditur
bounds. Or, if he could not spare even
ter of an hour a week for that purpose,
numerous friends, excellent men of busin
would have been proud to act as his st
One of those friends, the chief of a gre
mercial house in the city, made an att
put the establishment in Downing St
rights; but in vain. He found that th
of the servants'-hall was almost fabulous
quantity of butcher's meat charged in t
was nine hundredweight a week. The co
tion of poultry, of fish, of tea, was in pro
The character of Pitt would have stood
if, with the disin dness of Pericles

diametrically opposed. The haters of parliamentary reform called themselves Pittites, not choosing to remember that Pitt made three motions for parliamentary reform, and that, though he thought that such a reform could not safely be made while the passions excited by the French Revolution were raging, he never uttered a word indicating that he should not be prepared at a more convenient season to bring the question forward a fourth time. The toast of Protestant ascendency was drunk on Pitt's birthday by a set of Pittites who could not but be aware that Pitt had resigned his office because he could not carry Catholic Emancipation. The defenders of the Test Act called themselves Pittites, though they could not be ignorant that Pitt had laid before George the Third unanswerable reasons for abolishing the Test Act. The enemies of free trade called themselves Pittites, though Pitt was far more deeply imbued with the doctrines of Adam Smith than either Fox or Grey. The very negro-drivers invoked the name of Pitt, whose eloquence was never more conspicuously displayed than when he spoke of the wrongs of the negro. This mythical Pitt, who resembles the genuine Pitt as little as the Charlemagne of Ariosto resembles the Charlemagne of Eginhard, has had his day. History will vindicate the real man from calumny disguised under the semblance of adulation, and will exhibit him as what he was, a minister of great talents, honest intentions, and liberal opinions, pre-eminently

qualified, intellectually and morally, for the part of a parliamentary leader, and capable of administering with prudence and moderation the goverment of a prosperous and tranquil country; but unequal to surprising and terrible emergencies, and liable, in such emergencies, to err grievously, both on the side of weakness and on the side of violence.

THE END.

MACAULAY'S
History of England.

The History of England from the Accession of James II. By LORD MACAULAY. In Five Volumes. With elaborate Index.

LIBRARY EDITION: 5 vols., 8vo, Cloth, $10 00; Sheep, $12 50; Half Calf, $21 25.

POPULAR EDITION: 5 vols., 12mo, Cloth, $4 00; Sheep, $6 00; Half Calf, $12 75.

CHEAP EDITION: 5 vols., 8vo, Paper, $1 50. The volumes are sold separately.

With the rest of the world we come with our homage to Macaulay. There is no occasion for us to quote from Macaulay, to criticise, or to praise him. Our readers long ago have made their own quotations, selected their favorite passages, have read again and again every page of his history; and the universal approbation of the world has at once dispensed with the necessity of panegyric, and made censure impossible, except to those who are ambitious of a foolish singularity. On whatever side we look at this book, whether the style of it or the matter of it, it is alike astonishing. The style is faultlessly luminous; every word is in its right place; every sentence is exquisitely balanced; the current never flags. Homer, according to the Roman poet, may be sometimes languid; Macaulay is always bright, sparkling, attractive.—*Westminster Review.*

Published by HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

☞ *Either of the above works sent by mail, postage prepaid, to any part of the United States or Canada, on receipt of the price.*

The biography is in every spect w
subject. Mr. Trevelyan has executed h
most praiseworthy modesty and good tas
great literary skill. * * * Macaulay's Life f
interesting book, living as he did in the
literary and political activity of his time.
us many fresh pictures of incidents in whi
a part, and amusing and instructive anec
celebrities with whom he came in contact.
all, it throws a great deal of unexpected
own personal character. * * * Nothing co
the charm of those portions of the biograp
Mr. Trevelyan pictures Macaulay at hom
time when, already a man in learning, he
with his playmates on Clapham Common,
when, still a boy in animal spirits, he wrot
ters, from the smoking-room of the Hou
mons, exuberantly lively and brilliant desc
the great Reform debates, or spent evenings
in Great Ormond Street, punning, recitin
ping verses, in the intervals between his a
the House with displays of oratory whic
every thing heard "since Plunket:" or

Anthony Trollope's Works.

Anthony Trollope's position grows more secure with every new work which comes from his pen. He is one of the most prolific of writers, yet his stories improve with time instead of growing weaker, and each is as finished and as forcible as though it were the sole production of the author.—*N. Y. Sun.*

Mr. Trollope's characters are drawn with an outline firm, bold, strong. His side-thrusts at some of the lies which pass current in society are very keen.—*Congregationalist*, Boston.

BROWN, JONES, AND ROBINSON. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

CAN YOU FORGIVE HER? Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 30; Paper, 80 cents.

CASTLE RICHMOND. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

DOCTOR THORNE. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50; 8vo, Paper, 50 cents.

FRAMLEY PARSONAGE. Illustrated. 12mo, Cloth, $1 75.

HARRY HEATHCOTE OF GANGOIL. Illustrated. 8vo, Paper, 20 cents.

HE KNEW HE WAS RIGHT. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 30; Paper, 80 cents.

LADY ANNA. 8vo, Paper, 30 cents.

MISS MACKENZIE. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

NORTH AMERICA. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

ORLEY FARM. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 30; Paper, 80 cents.

PHINEAS FINN, THE IRISH MEMBER. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 25; Paper, 75 cents.

PHINEAS REDUX. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 25; Paper, 75 cents.

RACHAEL RAY. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

THE BELTON ESTATE. 8vo, Pap

THE BERTRAMS. 12mo, Cloth, $1 5

THE CLAVERINGS. Illustrated. 8
Paper, 50 cents.

THE EUSTACE DIAMONDS. 8v
Paper, 80 cents.

THE GOLDEN LION OF GRAN
trated. 8vo, Cloth, 90 cents; Paper, 40

THE LAST CHRONICLE OF BA
trated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 40; Paper, 90 ce

THE PRIME MINISTER. 8vo, Pap

THE SMALL HOUSE AT ALLINC
trated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 25; Paper, 75 ce

THE THREE CLERKS. 12mo, Clot

THE VICAR OF BULLHAMPTON
8vo, Cloth, $1 30; Paper, 80 cents.

THE WARDEN AND BARCHESTE
Complete in One Volume. 8vo, Paper,

WILKIE COLLINS'S NOVELS.

HARPER'S POPULAR EDITION.

8vo, Paper.

ARMADALE. Illustrated..... 60 c.
ANTONINA..... 40 c.
MAN AND WIFE. Illustrated..... 60 c.
NO NAME. Illustrated..... 60 c.
POOR MISS FINCH. Illustrated..... 60 c.
THE LAW AND THE LADY. Illustrated.... 50 c.
THE MOONSTONE. Illustrated..... 60 c.
THE NEW MAGDALEN..... 30 c.
THE TWO DESTINIES. Illustrated..... 35 c.
THE WOMAN IN WHITE..... 60 c.

PERCY AND THE PROPHET .....32mo, Paper, 20 c.

HARPER'S LIBRARY EDITION.

Illustrated. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50 per vol.

After Dark & Other Stories.	Poor Miss Finch.
Antonina.	The Dead Secret.
Armadale.	The Law and the Lady.
Basil.	The Moonstone.
Hide-and-Seek.	The New Magdalen.
Man and Wife.	The Queen of Hearts.
My Miscellanies.	The Two Destinies.
No Name.	The Woman in White.

Published by HARPER & BROTHERS, New York.

☞ *Sent by mail, postage prepaid, to any part of the United States or Canada, on receipt of the price.*

... Dennis ... val. Illustrated. 2
...mond, and Lovel the Widower.
cents.—Pendennis. Illustrated.
Adventures of Philip. Illustrated.
Great Hoggarty Diamond. 20 cents.—
Illustrated. 90 cents.—The Virginia
90 cents.—Vanity Fair. Illustrated.

HARPER'S HOUSEHOLD 1

12mo, Cloth.

NOVELS: Vanity Fair.—Pendennis.—Th
The Virginians.—Adventures of Phil
mond, and Lovel the Widower. Illus
umes, 12mo, Cloth, $1 50 per volume.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS: Barry Ly
Diamond, &c.—Paris and Irish Sketc
Book of Snobs, Sketches, &c.—Four
lish Humorists ...

THE END.

The History of England from the Accession of James II. By LORD MACAULAY. In Five Volumes. With elaborate Index.

LIBRARY EDITION: 5 vols., 8vo, Cloth, $10 00; Sheep, $12 50; Half Calf, $21 25.

POPULAR EDITION: 5 vols., 12mo, Cloth, $4 00; Sheep, $6 00; Half Calf, $12 75.

CHEAP EDITION: 5 vols., 8vo, Paper, $1 50. The volumes are sold separately.

With the rest of the world we come with our homage to Macaulay. There is no occasion for us to quote from Macaulay, to criticise, or to praise him. Our readers long ago have made their own quotations, selected their favorite passages, have read again and again every page of his history; and the universal approbation of the world has at once dispensed with the necessity of panegyric, and made censure impossible, except to those who are ambitious of a foolish singularity. On whatever side we look at this book, whether the style of it or the matter of it, it is alike astonishing. The style is faultlessly luminous; every word is in its right place; every sentence is exquisitely balanced; the current never flags. Homer, according to the Roman poet, may be sometimes languid; Macaulay is always bright, sparkling, attractive.—*Westminster Review.*

Published by HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

☞ *Either of the above works sent by mail, postage prepaid, to any part of the United States or Canada, on receipt of the price.*

tops, $5 00; Sheep, $6 00; Ha
Popular Edition, 1 vol., 12mo, C

The biography is in every respec
subject. Mr. Trevelyan has execute
most praiseworthy modesty and good
great literary skill. * * * Macaulay's L
interesting book, living as he did in
literary and political activity of his
us many fresh pictures of incidents in
a part, and amusing and instructive
celebrities with whom he came in co
all, it throws a great deal of unexpe
own personal character. * * * Nothin
the charm of those portions of the bio
Mr. Trevelyan pictures Macaulay at
time when, already a man in learnin
with his playmates on Clapham Com
when, still a boy in animal spirits, he
ters, from the smoking-room of the
mons, exuberantly lively and brilliant
the great Reform debates, or spent eve
in Great Ormond Street, punning, re
ping verses, in the intervals between
the House with displays of oratory

Anthony Trollope's position grows more secure with every new work which comes from his pen. He is one of the most prolific of writers, yet his stories improve with time instead of growing weaker, and each is as finished and as forcible as though it were the sole production of the author.—*N. Y. Sun.*

Mr. Trollope's characters are drawn with an outline firm, bold, strong. His side-thrusts at some of the lies which pass current in society are very keen.—*Congregationalist*, Boston.

BROWN, JONES, AND ROBINSON. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

CAN YOU FORGIVE HER? Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 30; Paper, 80 cents.

CASTLE RICHMOND. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

DOCTOR THORNE. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50; 8vo, Paper, 50 cents.

FRAMLEY PARSONAGE. Illustrated. 12mo, Cloth, $1 75.

HARRY HEATHCOTE OF GANGOIL. Illustrated. 8vo, Paper, 20 cents.

HE KNEW HE WAS RIGHT. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 30; Paper, 80 cents.

LADY ANNA. 8vo, Paper, 30 cents.

MISS MACKENZIE. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

NORTH AMERICA. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

ORLEY FARM. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 30; Paper, 80 cents.

PHINEAS FINN, THE IRISH MEMBER. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 25; Paper, 75 cents.

PHINEAS REDUX. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 25; Paper, 75 cents.

RACHAEL RAY. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

THE SMALL HOUSE AT ALLINGTON. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 25; Paper, 75 cents.

THE THREE CLERKS. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

THE VICAR OF BULLHAMPTON. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 30; Paper, 80 cents.

THE WARDEN AND BARCHESTER TOWERS. Complete in One Volume. 8vo, Paper, 60 cents.

THE WAY WE LIVE NOW. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, $1 40; Paper, 90 cents.

WEST INDIES AND THE SPANISH MAIN. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

Published by HARPER & BROTHERS, New York.

☞ *Sent by mail, postage prepaid, to any part of the United States or Canada, on receipt of the price.*

PERCY AND THE PROPHET 32mo,

HARPER'S LIBRARY EDI

Illustrated. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50 pe

After Dark & Other Stories.
Antonina.
Armadale.
Basil.
Hide-and-Seek.
Man and Wife.
My Miscellanies.
No Name.

Poor Miss Fin
The Dead Sec
The Law and t
The Moonston
The New Mag
The Queen of
The Two Dest
The Woman in

Published by HARPER & BROTHERS,

☞ *Sent by mail, postage prepaid, to any United States or Canada, on receipt of*

NOVELS: Denis Duval. Illustrated. 25 cents.—Henry Esmond, and Lovel the Widower. Illustrated. 60 cents.—Pendennis. Illustrated. 75 cents. The Adventures of Philip. Illustrated. 60 cents.—The Great Hoggarty Diamond. 20 cents.—The Newcomes. Illustrated. 90 cents.—The Virginians. Illustrated. 90 cents.—Vanity Fair. Illustrated. 80 cents.

HARPER'S HOUSEHOLD EDITION.

12mo, Cloth.

NOVELS: Vanity Fair.—Pendennis.—The Newcomes.—The Virginians.—Adventures of Philip.—Henry Esmond, and Lovel the Widower. Illustrated. Six volumes, 12mo, Cloth, $1 50 per volume.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS: Barry Lyndon, Hoggarty Diamond, &c.—Paris and Irish Sketch Books, &c.—[illegible] Sketches, &c.—Four Georges, Eng

PAUSANIAS THE SPARTAN. An Unfinished Historical Romance. 8vo, Paper, 25 cts.; 12mo, Cloth, 75 cts.

THE PARISIANS. A Novel. Illustrated. 8vo, Paper, 60 cents; 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

KENELM CHILLINGLY. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 50 cents; 12mo, Cloth, $1 25.

THE COMING RACE. 12mo, Paper, 50 cents; Cloth, $1 00.

A STRANGE STORY. A Novel. Illustrated by American Artists. 8vo, Paper, 50 cents; 12mo, Cloth, $1 25.

ATHENS, ITS RISE AND FALL. With Views of the Literature, Philosophy, and Social Life of the Athenian People. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

CAXTONIANA: a Series of Essays on Life, Literature, and Manners. 12mo, Cloth, $1 75.

DEVEREUX. A Tale. 8vo, Paper, 40 cents.

ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

ERNEST MALTRAVERS. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

ALICE; or, The Mysteries. A Novel. A Sequel to "Ernest Maltravers." 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

EUGENE ARAM. A Tale. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

GODOLPHIN. A Novel. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50; 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

HAROLD, The Last of the Saxon Kings. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 60 cents.

KING ARTHUR. A Poem. 12mo, Cloth, $1 75.

LEILA; or, The Siege of Grenada. A Novel. 12mo, Cloth, $1 00; 8vo, Paper, 25 cents.

LUCRETIA; or, The Children of Night. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 40 cents.

MISCELLANEOUS PROSE WORKS. 2 vols., 12mo, Cloth, $3 50.

PAUL CLIFFORD. A Novel. 8vo, Paper

PELHAM; or, The Adventures of a Gent Novel. 8vo, Paper, 40 cents.

RIENZI. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 40 cents.

THE CAXTONS. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 12mo, Cloth, $1 25.

THE DISOWNED. A Novel. 8vo, Paper,

THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII. A N Paper, 25 cents.

THE LAST OF THE BARONS. A N Paper, 50 cents.

THE LOST TALES OF MILETUS. 12 $1 50.

THE ODES AND EPODES OF HOR Metrical Translation into English. With In and Commentaries. With Latin Text from tions of Orelli, Macleane, and Yonge. 12 $1 75.

THE PILGRIMS OF THE RHINE. 8vo, Paper, 20 cents.

HARPER'S POPULAR EDITION.

8vo, Paper.

HARD CASH. Illustrated. 50 cents.
A WOMAN-HATER. Illustrated. 60 cents.
FOUL PLAY. 35 cents.
GRIFFITH GAUNT. Illustrated. 40 cents.
IT IS NEVER TOO LATE TO MEND. 50 cents.
LOVE ME LITTLE, LOVE ME LONG. 35 cents.
PEG WOFFINGTON, CHRISTIE JOHNSTONE, AND OTHER TALES. 50 cents.
PUT YOURSELF IN HIS PLACE. Ill'd. 50 cts.
THE CLOISTER AND THE HEARTH. 50 cents.
THE WANDERING HEIR. Illustrated. 25 cents.
WHITE LIES. 40 cents.
THE JILT. Illustrated. 32mo, Paper, 20 cents.
A HERO AND A MARTYR. With a Portrait. 15 cts.
A SIMPLETON. 35 cents.
A TERRIBLE TEMPTATION. Illustrated. 40 cts.

HARPER'S HOUSEHOLD EDITION.

Illustrated. 12mo, Cloth.

HARD CASH.
FOUL PLAY.
WHITE LIES.
LOVE ME LITTLE, LOVE ME LONG.
GRIFFITH GAUNT.
THE CLOISTER AND THE HEARTH.
A WOMAN-HATER.
IT IS NEVER TOO LATE TO MEND.
PEG WOFFINGTON, &c.
PUT YOURSELF IN HIS PLACE.
A TERRIBLE TEMPTATION.
A SIMPLETON & THE WANDERING HEIR.

Twelve Volumes. $1 25 per vol.

PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

Sent by mail, postage prepaid, on receipt of price.

MADCAP VIOLET.
12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

THE MAID OF KILLEENA, AND O
STORIES. 8vo, Paper, 40 cents.

THE MONARCH OF MINCING-L
Illustrated. 8vo, Paper, 50 cents.

THE STRANGE ADVENTURES O
PHAETON. 8vo, Paper, 50 cents;
Cloth, $1 50.

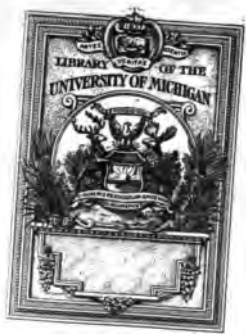
THREE FEATHERS. 8vo, Paper, 50
12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

Published by HARPER & BROTHERS, N

☞ *Sent by mail, postage prepaid, to any p*
United States, on receipt of the price

BUILDING
USE ONLY

UNIV. OF MICH.
DEC 19 1907



BULWER'S WORKS.

PAUSANIAS THE SPARTAN. An Unfinished Historical Romance. 8vo, Paper, 25 cts.; 12mo, Cloth, 75 cts.

THE PARISIANS. A Novel. Illustrated. 8vo, Paper, 60 cents; 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

KENELM CHILLINGLY. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 50 cents; 12mo, Cloth, $1 25.

THE COMING RACE. 12mo, Paper, 50 cents; Cloth, $1 00.

A STRANGE STORY. A Novel. Illustrated by American Artists. 8vo, Paper, 50 cents; 12mo, Cloth, $1 25.

ATHENS, ITS RISE AND FALL. With Views of the Literature, Philosophy, and Social Life of the Athenian People. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

CAXTONIANA: a Series of Essays on Life, Literature, and Manners. 12mo, Cloth, $1 75.

DEVEREUX. A Tale. 8vo, Paper, 40 cents.

ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

ERNEST MALTRAVERS. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

ALICE; or, The Mysteries. A Novel. A Sequel to "Ernest Maltravers." 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

EUGENE ARAM. A Tale. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

GODOLPHIN. A Novel. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50; 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

HAROLD, The Last of the Saxon Kings. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 60 cents.

KING ARTHUR. A Poem. 12mo, Cloth, $1 75.

LEILA; or, The Siege of Grenada. A Novel. 12mo, Cloth, $1 00; 8vo, Paper, 25 cents.

LUCRETIA; or, The Children of Night. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 40 cents.

MISCELLANEOUS PROSE WORKS. 2 vols., 12mo, Cloth, $3 50.

MY NOVEL; or, Varieties in English Life. 8vo, Paper, 75 cents; Library Edition, 2 vols., 12mo, Cloth, $2 50.

NIGHT AND MORNING. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 50 cents.

PAUL CLIFFORD. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 40 cents.

PELHAM; or, The Adventures of a Gentleman. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 40 cents.

RIENZI. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 40 cents.

THE CAXTONS. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 50 cents; 12mo, Cloth, $1 25.

THE DISOWNED. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 50 cents.

THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 25 cents.

THE LAST OF THE BARONS. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 50 cents.

THE LOST TALES OF MILETUS. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

THE ODES AND EPODES OF HORACE. A Metrical Translation into English. With Introduction and Commentaries. With Latin Text from the Editions of Orelli, Macleane, and Yonge. 12mo, Cloth, $1 75.

THE PILGRIMS OF THE RHINE. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 20 cents.

THE RIGHTFUL HEIR. A Drama in Five Acts. 12mo, Paper, 15 cents.

THE STUDENT. A Novel. 12mo, Cloth, $1 50.

WHAT WILL HE DO WITH IT? A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 75 cents; Cloth, $2 00.

ZANONI. A Novel. 8vo, Paper, 35 cents.

Published by HARPER & BROTHERS, New York.

☞ *Sent by mail, postage prepaid, to any part of the United States, on receipt of the price.*